MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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REALISM IN THE FRENCH NOVEL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XVIIITH CENTURY

The object of this article is to note the existence of realism in the French novel of the XVIIIth century. In dealing with the realist novel of the XIXth century critics frequently leave one with the impression that the realist movement was the result of a sudden revulsion of feeling against the exaggerated Romanticism of the preceding age or else a sudden reflection in literature of the money lust of the period. Undoubtedly both these factors contributed largely to the establishment of XIXth century realism, but such phenomena in literature or indeed in any form of art are best considered as epidemics. Only in this way can one explain the existence of previous isolated cases of the malady, as for example those indicated as having occurred in the classical XVIIth Incidentally, before the appearance of the novel as a literary genre we must not forget that there occurred in the XVth century an epidemic of realism, witness the works of Villon, Baude, Menot, Maillard and de la Salle. I do not intend to suggest that realism is a characteristic feature of the novel of the XVIIIth century but rather to demonstrate that the germs of realism are latent and awaiting a favorable moment to invade French literature.

The realist novelist is primarily concerned with the manners and morals of the lowest classes of society, the *peuple* and the *petite bourgeoisie*. Victor Hugo well defined realist literature when, in a letter addressed to Champfleury two years before the appearance of *Les Misérables* he said: "La littérature du XIXe siècle n'aura qu'un nom: elle s'appellera la littérature démocratique."

In Lesage's Gil Blas and in Le diable boiteux there are several descriptions of the lower side of life because Lesage, in the universality of his genius touched on every class of society. We come across etchings of thieves, money-lenders, hotel-keepers and valets, but he does not portray the moeurs of these people. Lesage, who was too much of a satirist ever to be a successful realist novelist, harps too long on the same theme. He specialises in knaves, amusing knaves, witty knaves, clever out of all proportion to their condition sometimes, and the result is that the reader takes away with him no indelible impression of the morals or habits of the

people.

Readers of Mariyaux' Vie de Marianne will recollect the often quoted scene between Madame Dutour the seamstress, and a cabdriver. That is realism and in the opinion of Mariyaux' contemporaries marred an otherwise passable novel. Dalembert, who succeeded Mariyaux in the Académie could not refrain from a regretful reference to it in the customary eulogy. It shocked contemporary taste to see in print the language of the street and the reading public was frankly uninterested in the every day life of the lower classes. Touching this question, a critic in the Observations sur les écrits modernes deplores the degenerating taste of contemporary novelists in choosing low characters and goes on to say: "Ils vous peignent sans façon les moeurs, et vous rapportent tout au long les élégants entretiens d'un cocher de fiacre, d'une lingère et d'une fille de boutique. Cela les accommode mieux apparamment que les moeurs des personnes de condition et fournit plus à leur esprit. Il ne serait pas impossible de voir bientôt figurer dans quelque nouveau roman un vil savoyard, auquel on ferait décrotter quelque lambeau de métaphysique. Le roman bourgeois de Furetière a été longtemps regardé comme un ouvrage d'un genre isolé et peu estimable: ce genre est enfin devenu à la mode."

The unknown writer of the above is unduly pessimistic. The realist element is threatening to make inroads into public favor but is, like the novel in general, faced with considerable obstacles. It has been pointed out by critics that the themes of Gil Blas, Marianne and Le Paysan parvenu are practically the same. They all have a central character who is of humble origin and who rises in the social scale thanks to native wit. It is not, however, gen-

¹ Vol. III (1736).

crally known that there was published in 1700 a novel called Mylord —— ou le paysan de qualité par M. ——.² It is the tale of a peasant called Félicien who is educated along with the son of a local nobleman. As the title implies, Félicien like Marianne is not a real peasant and is duly claimed by his aristocratic father. I mention it because it seems to be the lineal ancestor of the novel dealing with the 'self made man' motif, in France at least.

Now none of the authors we have just had before us were popular because of the realist elements in their works but rather in spite of them. They are content to tell us simply that their hero is of humble origin and, without insisting further, swiftly transport him to a higher social milieu. Just think what a tome a modern novelist would have made out of the first paragraph of Gil Blas! The reason for this state of affairs is that the time was not yet ripe. This for example, is the reception that Fielding's Joseph Andrews had in France in 1743 with a section of the reading public. I quote from Les Observations sur les écrits modernes for that year.

"Traduit en français il a le malheur de n'être point goûté de certaines personnes du beau monde." After deploring their lack of judgment, this anonymous defender of realism continues. "Les romans de Don Quichotte et de Gil Blas sont des tableaux flamands où l'on voit des noces de village, des danses champêtres, des bourgeois ridicules, des fumeurs, des cabarets, des hôtes et des hôtesses, des valets etc. Tout cela se trouve dans Joseph Andrews; n'importe, les caractères des gens de basse condition ne plaisent pas, tandis que les maritornes, les bergers, les chevriers espagnols nous charment."

In La Paysanne parvenue by the chevalier de Mouhy (1735), we get the first realist description of village moeurs. His peasant, Colin, really smacks of the soil and speaks its language. The story reveals the peasant's smouldering animosity against the loathed tax farmer and his jealous suspicion of the 'fine gentlemen' whose grand manners turn the village lasses' heads. The portrait of Barbe the garrulous peasant woman and the parents of the heroine with their mixture of greed and servility represent a forward step in this aspect of the history of the French novel.

e

² Paris, 1700. This work is unknown to Quérard or Barbier.

From 1735 till 1742 the novel confines its imitation of manners to those of the nobility, of financiers, lawyers, and ministers of religion.

Richardson's Pamela indirectly gave a fillip to the realist novel. Now, notwithstanding Diderot's immoderate Eloge de Richardson, Pamela was not admired everywhere in France. F. A. Aubert de la Chesnaye des Bois in his Lettres amusantes sur les romans (1743) replies as follows to certain eulogistic criticisms which had just appeared in the Observations sur les écrits modernes:

"Je respecte ses décisions mais je dois faire cas de celle du Public de qui j'ai entendu dire que Les Lettres de Paméla sont noyées dans une foule de fadaises qui, portant le dégoût et l'ennui dans l'esprit du lecteur lui cachent en plusieurs endroits la naïveté et la simplicité du style qui font tout le mérite du livre en question."

The reaction against Richardson's novel had already produced two anti-Paméla in France. One is L'anti Paméla ou la fausse innocence découverte dans les aventures de Syrène, histoire véritable traduite de l'anglois par M. de M. — (Mauvillon), Amsterdam, Arksté and Merkus, 1742. The other is L'anti Paméla ou les mémoires de M. D. ——, traduits de l'anglois ou plutôt composés par Claude Villaret, Londres (Paris) 1742. Villaret's work is interesting from the point of view of realism. It is the tale of a girl whose mother, an ex femme entretenue, deliberately prepares her daughter for an immoral life. The disgusting efforts of a wealthy merchant, abetted by the parent, to seduce the heroine are faithfully reproduced. The girl elopes with a nobleman who deserts her after a time and she allows herself to be persuaded eventually by the brilliant offers of the wealthy and repulsive merchant who is called Keil. Here Villaret, who had apparently set out to scoff, becomes sentimentally interested in his creation. Keil, supposing his wife unfaithful, dies of grief and Madame Keil, now a rich widow, marries her real lover, an English Milord. The author after all achieves his object which was to portray 'vice triumphant.' It is not necessary to dwell on the theme except to remark that it is, for the century, daringly realist as is also the description of the vicissitudes of the heroine.

About 1745, the comte de Caylus son of the lady whose memoirs are so well known, published his *Histoire de M. Guillaume, cocher,* a series of short stories describing life as it appears to the Paris

cabdriver. He says: "Je sais ce que je vas vous dire, pour en avoir vu plus de la moitié de mes propres yeux, moi qui vous parle, quand je menais mon équipage. Les gens qui vont dans un fiacre, tout partout où ils veulent aller, ne prennent pas garde à lui; ça fait qu'on ne se cache pas de certaines choses qu'on ne ferait pas devant le monde."

To take one of these nouvelles, (for that is what they are), M. Guillaume drives a certain little shop girl Mlle Godiche to a rendezvous with a 'cousin.' The cousinage, comments M. Guillaume, is rather doubtful. However, the pair are driven to a disreputable cabaret called La Glacière. The 'cabby' meets a soldier acquaintance and passes the time pleasantly over a pint what time the lovers foot it merrily in a minuet. Unfortunately Mlle Godiche's fiancé. a M. Galonnet, arrives, accompanied by his two sisters Gogo and Babet. Gogo "avait le visage comme un verre à bière et l'autre était bancale." Their tempers too are uneven and Mlle Godiche is submitted to a regular barrage of innuendoes. Her attire is of course commented upon. Doubts are expressed as to the source from which it was obtained. Her way of dancing displeases them: "Elle se déhanche en dansant. Ne dirait-on pas une fille d'Opéra?" says the virtuous Babet. A quarrel is not long in arising between Babet and Mlle Godiche who reveals that "elle avait la langue bien pendue; elle se mit à vous lui dégoiser les sept péchés mortels: en sorte que la couturasse se jette sur elle, lui arrache son morillon plus vite que le vent, et le trépigne aux pieds dans l'eau qui était par terre, en sorte qu'il n'était que de boue et de crachat." The cousin steps in and soon he and M. Galonnet are at it. "Enfin, finale, pourtant, on nous sépare à la fin, et qui eût l'oeil poché au beurre, c'était pour son compte."

Caylus is absolutely a realist writer. He knows the common people and describes their *moeurs*. His intrigues are of the slightest but he is chiefly concerned with the exposition. The modern atmosphere his work exhales gives the reader a curious sensation; de Maupassant is his direct descendant but with this difference that Caylus has an irrepressible sense of humor which bubbles up on the slightest provocation.

Fanfiche, ou les mémoires de Mademoisselle de M. ———, Peine, 1748, by G. de Bonneval, is the life story of a fille de joie. Fanfiche is the daughter of a cobbler and a flower seller. The cobbler draws

a lucky number in a lottery and for a time the family fortunes are extremely bright. The cobbler, unhappily, drinks away the money and Fanfiche passes into the hands of a 'kind lady' whose profession it is to put girls like Fanfiche into good homes. The good home in this case is that of an old satyr called Bannette who launches his protégée on her career. She passes from one man to another, eventually becoming the mistress of a decrepit marquis

who dies conveniently, leaving Fanfiche all his money.

Les Lettres de Montmartre par M. Jeannot Georgin, Londres, 1750, is an epistolary novel by A. U. Coustellier and is written in peasant dialect. Jeannot, hankering after the delights of Paris, leaves his patelin taking with him ample funds abstracted from his father's cash box. However, in his first letter he writes: "Je vous griffonons ces paroles à cette fin-là que vous me donniés de bon gré l'argent que je vous ai escamoté maugré vous sans vous rien dire." His conscience thus clear, his ambition, we gather, is to become 'grand matoquié et pis un grand marquis'; soon we find him, as he confides to his sorrowing village Javotte, intimate with no less a personage than the third commis of the sous portier of the 'château des maltotiés.' This paysan parvenu gives a faithful account of the seamier sides of Paris life as he discovers them in his pursuit of pleasure, for Jeannot is wealthy now having drawn a lucky number in a lottery. However, he falls into evil hands, is robbed and finally returns to the village and his faithful Javotte. The whole novel is written with a satiric purpose which somewhat detracts from its value as a human document though to do Coustellier justice, he rarely exaggerates. Indeed, in a description of XVIIIth century manners and morals, exaggeration is hardly possible.

"Les hommes nous volent: ne nous faisons pas scrupule de les duper," says the heroine of the Egarements de Julie 3 and this sentiment is a fair indication of the prevailing tone of the book. A contemporary critic in the Année littéraire, while deploring the choice of subject, has to admit that the author displays considerable energy in his depiction of character. The little bourgeoise, living with her aunt in Paris, becomes aware of her charms when she overhears the complimentary remarks of the connoisseurs who hang about the church door quizzing the young girls. A certain M.

³ By J. A. R. Perrin, Amsterdam, 1756.

Poupard, a gross financier, marks her down and takes her and her aunt to the Bois de Boulogne where he entertains them regally and incidentally tries to make them drunk. Julie however, has a strong head and accepts presents while keeping the amorous Poupard guessing as to her intentions. She and Valère, Poupard's nephew, fall in love and decamp with the old man's money, but the luckless Valère is given away by another of Julie's lovers. Our heroine gradually spends her money and is reduced to furnished rooms. She sells some of her finery and tries her fortune at the carnival and the bal de l'Opéra, but with no success. Deserted by Valère, whom she sees at the theatre with another woman, she ends up in a maison publique. Such is the bald, realistic story of the life of an unfortunate woman. It is an old theme to us now, but it was not so hackneyed then. It was the abbé Prévost who immortalised the fille de joie in Manon Lescaut—immortalised and idealised her. Perrin has no illusions. His Julie is not capable of the sacrifices of a Manon and, because of that, is a more probable type.

The publication of Baret's Mademoiselle Javotte in 1758 occasioned the following criticism in the Année littéraire for 1762. The novel, says the writer "peint assez au naturel la vie des filles du monde. Mais il est des sujets qui, quoique vraisemblables et même très vrais, sont trop révoltants. Un tableau tel que celui-ci est de la plus grande indécence; l'artiste aurait dû l'interdire à son pinceau ou du moins ne pas l'exposer au public." The critic is most probably Fréron, the celebrated anti-philosophe, but he undoubtedly represented the attitude of a large section of the reading public. Since he wrote these strictures, a great mass of realist literature has issued from the printing presses both in France and in England, but even the most sophisticated among us do not require much effort of imagination to realise how very advanced Baret is for his age. Here is the story.

Javotte begins her career as apprentice to a seamstress, La Villers, who sees in her shop girl's charms a considerable source of income, 'un véritable Pérou,' as the saying then was. Hers is an easy morality. "Les hommes sont des animaux qu'il faut amadouer pour mieux les plumer" is the essence of the worldly wisdom which she impresses on Javotte, who is dressed up at some expense in order to be introduced to a certain M. Rondain, the contemporary type of wealthy satyr. The following is an account of the meeting:

"Bonjour, mon enfant" s'écrie en se jetant à mon col le massif galant. "Asseyons-nous. Je n'en peux plus. C'est donc là la créature en question," reprend-il en s'étendant sur un fauteuil. "Venez donc ici, mon bouchon." Puis il frappe plusieurs fois son genou de la même manière que s'il voulait appeler un petit chien. "Allez donc: quand Monsieur vous le permet," me dit La Villers. J'y allai comme malgré moi. A peine fus-je assise sur cet automate parlant qu'il me serra dans ses bras et me donna brutalement mille baisers. . . "Finissez," m'écriai-je en levant la main sur lui, "ou je vous empogne, vous!" "Ah! quelle harengère!," s'écrie-t-il à son tour en se levant. "Eh! que veux-tu que je fasse de cela?" "Mais aussi vous demandez du tout frais" répondit La Villers, "où voulez-vous qu'on en trouve. Ce ne sera pas parmi les bourgeoises: elles sont venues au point de nous damer le pion."

Rondain goes off with the air of a deeply injured man. furious La Villers turns on Javotte, and with the gesture of a wronged and virtuous woman commands: "Quittez ces vêtements dont vous êtes indigne et remettez tout à l'heure vos guénilles!" Javotte remembers dimly something she once read to the effect that virtue is none the less beautiful for being unadorned and throws the quotation at La Villers, who searches her vocabulary for her most crushing epithet. "Taisez vous béqueule" she screams and reduces Javotte to silence. Javotte's resistance is but short lived and soon we find her kept by a financier though she has several amants de coeur, including a guardsman, an abbé, and a lawyer. The latter is a well drawn and faithful sketch of a man who conceives a pure love for this fille de joie, who is simply bored with his sentimentalism, as it appears to her, and he in turn is finally revolted by her lubricity. Surely the most telling passage in this remarkable document is the description of Javotte's return to her people. She says:

"Qu'on se figure une jeune personne magnifiquement parée, assise négligement das un fiacre à l'entrée d'un faubourg d'où viennent cinq ou six filles, dont les chaussures grossières font entendre la cadence de la marche. Eh, quoi donc! Est-ce que j'ai la barluë? C'est ty là Javotte Godeau.' dit Louison, mon ancienne camarade d'école. 'Parguienne, oui, c'est elle; et comtevla brave, Mameselle Javotte.' reprend sa soeur Babet. Une troisième survient qui s'écrie: 'On dirait d'un ange dans un reposoir! Oh sûrement c'est que t'as cassé ton sabot, en velà les éclats sur ta robbe.' Enfin une quatrième s'avance à la portière en disant: 'Gniati pas de danger? Pouvons-je monter là-dedans?' 'Venez, mes amies,' répondis-je je suis plus riche que je ne l'étais mais j'ai le même coeur.'"

This is how her mother greets her.

Fille du diable, enragée, dévargondée, as-tu fait assez claquer ton fouet? Te velà donc toupie comme Sainte Nicole. T'as sucé la dragée, tu n'en lâcheras pas l'amende.' 'Tenez, ma mère,' repris-je avec un ton de douceur, 'la faute est faite, il faut la boire et voilà de quoi,' ajoutai-je en tirant dix louis de ma poche. 'Quiens donc!' repris ma mère, 'crois-tu nous ébarlouir avec tes louis? Oh que ne mangeons pas de ce pain-là. Le nôtre est paitri d'honneur.'

The whole novel is an unconscious satire on the morals of the beau monde. Baret continually throws his heroine into situations where the contrast between the viciousness of the upper classes and the sincerity of the peuple vividly stands forth. Javotte falls in love with Saint Frai who is the type of dissipated and amoral chevalier so familiar in the novel and comedy of the XVIIIth While professing close friendship for the financier, Saint Frai amuses himself with Javotte whose purse he regards as his own. With relentless realism Baret traces the descent of this girl, her desertion by the financier, her subsequent amours, and finally her arrest and incarceration in the Hôpital, that last refuge of the unfortunate. Here she sobs out her last breath in agony, a prey to disease. With perfect justice Baret has called his novel a conte moral. Opinion may be divided as to the desirability of offering such a novel to the public, but there can be no doubt as to the sincerity of the author. I consider this novel in the foremost rank of French realist literature. Manon Lescaut shows one side of the medal: here is the other. That this novel is not known to the public is due to the fact that Baret committed the unpardonable sin of writing out of the fashion. Mademoiselle Javotte was writen when France was in the thrall of the maudlin sentimentality of Pamela. Rousseau caught the rising tide with his Nouvelle Héloise and collected all the laurels at the disposal of a genre which was regarded throughout the whole century with half amused tolerance.

University of Manitoba.

F. C. GREEN.

VOLTAIRE'S CHANGE OF NAME

It is well known that in 1718, shortly after his release from the Bastille, Voltaire discarded his family name Arrouet.¹ The reason

¹ Most contemporaries spell the name Arrouet with two "r's."

for this change has never been thoroughly understood, and unfortunately the poet himself has left practically no information on this point. Without attempting to discuss the matter of why he chose the particular name "Voltaire," I intend to cast some additional light upon his reason for abandoning the name Arrouet.

In La Jeunesse de Voltaire Desnoiresterres quotes a remark of J. B. Rousseau, who tells that Voltaire had confided to him that he had changed his name from Arrouet to Voltaire so that he might not be confused with the contemporary satirical poet, Pierre Charles Roy (1683-1764). An explanation of this possible confusion is that the word Roy was pronounced $[rw\epsilon]^2$ so that it would have sounded about like Arrouet.

In disagreement with this view M. Chardonchamp, in his Les Arouet, argues that the last letter "t" of Arrouet was pronounced by the family of Voltaire. He gives as proof the fact that the priest who worded the inscription on the tomb of Armand Arrouet wrote the name of Voltaire as Arouette de Voltaire.³ In an early eighteenth century manuscript Recueil de plusieurs Piesse ⁴ the same spelling is found (p. 547) Jugement en dernier ressort, rendu par Momus contre Arouette, dit Voltaire.

It seems established, then, that the family and some of the contemporaries of Voltaire considered the pronunciation of the last "t" as correct, but it also appears that the public at large did not generally accept this pronunciation. The following rhymes from contemporary bits of poetry tend to indicate that the usual manner of pronouncing the name was [arwe].

Cependant le public et le paye et l'admire Et du ton des auteurs est si fort le jouet, Que l'on ne saurait presque dire Lequel est le plus sot du public ou d'Arrouet.⁵ Mais ni Rousseau ni son disciple Arrouet Qui de nos jours font tant claquer le fouet.⁶ Affreux et triste en l'Oedipe d'Arrouet

3 Chardonchamp, Les Arouet, 1911, p. 54.

² Nyrop, Gram. de la Lang. Fran., 1904, 1, 174.

^{*}This manuscript is in the possession of Professor Gustave L. van Roosbroeck, whose kind assistance in the preparation of this article is acknowledged with thanks.

⁵ Journal Satirique Intercepté, 1719, p. 48.

^{*} Journal Satirique Intercepté, p. 46.

Reviennent si souvent que Gacon en a fait. Damon interrogé dans quel rang il mettroit L'Oedipe d'aujourd'hui, répondit à l'oreille; Fort audessus du jeune Arrouet, Fort audessous du grand Corneille. Voulons que ledit A * * *

Dont nous avons fait le portrait.

It is to be noted that the foregoing rhymes involve no words in which, in common conversation, the "t" would be sounded. Although it is possible that these rhymes are merely eye rhymes, it is altogether probable, on the other hand, that, if the "t" was sounded in the word Arrouet, the poets would have hit upon such rhyme words as *sept* or *net*, but no such ear rhymes for Arrouet—in the supposition that the "t" was pronounced—seem to exist.

A further proof that the "t" of Arrouet was not generally pronounced can be found in the fact that Arrouet was spelled by some contemporaries as Arroy, since, in this spelling, no "t" is found.¹⁰

Both pronunciations—with and without final "t"—must have been current, and the confusion of the names Arrouet [arwe] and Roy [rwe] must have been possible. That such a confusion actually occurred is proved by the fact that at least one poem by Voltaire was in reality ascribed to Roy. In the manuscript which has been mentioned above there is (p. 256) a poem entitled, Vers du Poète Roy, sur son Emprisonnement à la Bastille. This poem is Voltaire's Bastille, 11 dating from 1717. It is not unlikely that other poems were thus falsely ascribed to him. The reverse may also have taken place: poems by Roy may have been attributed to Voltaire. When one remembers that Roy was a most violent satirist, who, on several occasions, received a beating for his attacks, one can understand that Voltaire, who had more than his share of similar troubles, was anxious not to have to suffer for the sins of others. His own were sufficient.

A curious brochure of 1719 entitled Le Journal Satirique Inter-

⁷ Journal Satirique Intercepté, p. 28.

⁸ Journal Satirique Intercepté, p. 14.

^o Voltariana, ou Eloges Amphigouriques de Fr. Marie Arrouet (1748), p. 126.

¹⁰ Voltaire, Oeuvres (Moland), I, 174. Cf. Straus, Voltaire (1876), p. 21.

¹¹ Voltaire, Oeuvres (Moland), VIII, p. 125.

cepté ou l'Apologie de M. de Voltaire et de M. de La Motte disagrees with this reason for the change of name. The brochure has been ascribed to François Gacon, "le Poète sans fard," but there is little justification for believing it to be his work, inasmuch as he is the butt of most of the attacks. Many of Gacon's epigrams, which had probably been circulated in manuscript, are printed here, together with violent replies in prose against Gacon. In the following extract from the Journal Satirique Intercepté the author, who must have been a partisan of Voltaire, reports and refutes an epigram of Gacon on Voltaire's change of name: "Quelques faux plaisants ou mal intentionnés ayant publié que M. Arrouet n'avait changé son nom en celui de Voltaire que pour le distinguer de M. Roy, aussi en mauvaise odeur parmi les poètes que parmi les honnêtes gens, voici l'avis qu'il (Gacon) donne à M. Arrouet.

Parceque le public avec Roy le confond Arrouet se fait nommer Voltaire: Mais c'est peu de changer de nom, S'il ne change de caractère.

Peut-on rien de plus malicieux et de moins vraisemblable que les motifs que ce satirique donne à M. Arrouet dans le changement qu'il a cru devoir faire de son nom; la seule confrontation des qualités, des vertus, et des talents de ces deux Messieurs est capable de dissiper tous les soubçons injurieux à l'un et à l'autre." ¹²

This hitherto unnoticed epigram echoed, no doubt, a more or less generally accepted story, but the denial offers no sufficient proof that Voltaire never said that he changed his name not to be confused with Roy, for this brochure is manifestly a defense of Voltaire against Gacon.

The Journal Satirique Intercepté was printed early in 1719, inasmuch as there is a mention of it in the May number of the Mercure.¹³ Hence the epigram of Gacon was doubtless in circulation during the previous year, very shortly after Voltaire's change of name. It is certain that this explanation was current at Paris almost immediately after the change had taken place.

In view of the facts that the name Arrouet was pronounced [arwe] by at least a part of the public; that the pronunciation of

¹² Le Journal Satirique Intercepté, p. 29.

¹³ Mercure, May, 1719, p. 202.

Roy $[rw\epsilon]$ resembled it closely, so that confusion was possible; that at least one poem of Voltaire was, at the time, attributed to Roy; that Gacon reports that the reason for the change was exactly that confusion; and that J. B. Rousseau claims that Voltaire himself gave him this explanation, it seems that this theory is worthy of much more credence than the denial in the *Journal Satirique Intercepté* or other conjectures for which there is no contemporary evidence.

However, it must not be forgotten that Voltaire had been unhappy under his former name ¹⁴ and the fact that he made the change shortly after his release from the Bastille may well indicate that his imprisonment was also a contributing cause for this forsaking of the family name.

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"CRITES" IN DRYDEN'S ESSAY OF DRAMATIC POESY

In Dryden's Essay of Dramatic Poesy (1668) the four persons who carry on the dialogue are Eugenius, Crites, Lisideius, and Neander. Malone, the first critical editor of Dryden, pointed out that Eugenius represents the Earl of Dorset; Lisideius, Sir Charles Sedley (Sidley); and Neander, Dryden himself (Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of John Dryden: London, 1800, vol. 1, part i, pp. 62-67). These identifications have been accepted by all succeeding editors of Dryden; that of Eugenius is supported by the authority of Prior, that of Neander by an elegy on Dryden by Mrs. Elizabeth Thomas, and that of Lisideius by an obvious anagram from Sidleius (Sidley). As to Crites, Malone at first conjectured that he was "perhaps . . . meant to represent Wentworth [Dillon], Earl of Roscommon" (Ibid., vol. 1, part ii, p. 34). Roscommon in 1680 published a translation in blank verse of Horace's Art of Poetry. Accordingly, when Eugenius, addressing

¹⁴In the *Epître Dédicatoire* of the *Voltariana* there is a statement of the editors that they had seen a letter from Voltaire to Mlle Dunoyer with a postscript "ne t'étonne pas, ma chère, de ce changement de nom; j'ai été si malheureux avec l'autre que je veux voir si celui-ci m'apportera du bonheur."

Crites, remarks, "for you hear your Horace saying," Malone adds the following note: "This passage adds some support to my conjecture that Crites was intended to represent Lord Roscommon (Ibid., p. 41). But later, when Crites makes his argument against rime, Malone experiences a change of heart. "All the arguments here adduced by Crites against rime," he states (Ibid., pp. 116, 117), "are found almost verbatim in the Preface of Sir Robert Howard [to his Four New Plays, 1665], printed in a preceding part of this volume. On second thoughts, therefore, I believe that he, and not Lord Roscommon, was shadowed under the character of Crites; though that nobleman might with sufficient propriety have been introduced employing the printed arguments of Sir Robert Howard on this subject. With respect to the words noticed in a former page: 'For hear your Horace saying,' etc., though Lord Roscommon had not yet published his translation of The Art of Poetry, Dryden might have known that he was a favorite author of Roscommon's, and hence have thus described the Roman poet: but Sir Robert Howard having in his Preface frequently quoted Horace and appealed to his authority, these words may with equal propriety denote his admired author; and therefore sufficiently well agree with what is now suggested—that Sir Robert Howard is the Crites of the piece before us." Still later Malone speaks even more positively: "Crites was indisputably Sir Robert Howard; as is proved not only by his having recently before this Dialogue was written, published a critical preface concerning one of the subjects here discussed (then a novelty), but by the very arguments which he had advanced against rime, being put, almost in the same words, into the mouth of the personage intended to represent him" (Ibid., vol. I, part i, pp. 62, 63).

Malone's revised opinion as to Crites has been adopted, like his other identifications, by all succeeding editors of the Essay of Dramatic Poesy whose work I have been able to examine: by Scott and Saintsbury (Works of John Dryden: London, 1882-93, vol. xv, p. 274), Arber (An English Garner: London, 1880, vol. III, p. 508), Thomas Arnold and W. T. Arnold (Dryden: Essay of Dramatic Poesy: ed. 2, Oxford, 1896; and ed. 3, 1918, p. 7), Strunk (Dryden: Essays on the Drama: New York, 1898, p. xxvii), and Ker (Essays of John Dryden: Oxford, 1900, vol. I, p. 289). Miss C. N. Thurber, in the introduction to her edition of

Howard's comedy, The Committee (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, 1921, vol. VII, no. i, pp. 32-38), also accepts without question Malone's identification. It is, however, easily disproved. It may possibly be supported, to be sure, by Dryden's description of Crites as "a person of a sharp judgment, and somewhat too delicate a taste in wit, which the world have mistaken in him for ill-nature" (Dryden: Works, ed. Scott and Saintsbury, vol. xv, p. 285; Essays, ed. Ker, vol. 1, p. 29), which Scott terms "a favorable representation of the character of Sir Robert Howard, who is described by his contemporaries as very vain, obstinate, and opinionative." But this description is so vague that it would presumably fit more than one of Dryden's literary acquaintances; it cannot be used for purposes of identification. And Malone's argument from the fact that Howard had recently published a critical preface is too weak for refutation; the name Crites would fit any literary man of a critical turn of On the other hand, while Crites in the Essay is the declared champion of the ancient dramatists, Howard in his preface to Four New Plays had boldly pronounced in favor of their English successors. "It is no partiality to conclude," he states, "that our English plays justly challenge the preeminence" (Malone: Ibid., vol. I, part ii, p. 19). This contradiction alone makes the identification of Crites with Howard impossible. (Scott and Strunk note the contradiction, but are not moved by it to disagree with Malone.) Howard's preface furnishes, aside from its arguments on the use of rime in the drama, further material for the Essay of Dramatic Poesy, that on the threadbare character of the ancient plots (ed. Scott and Saintsbury, pp. 304, 305; ed. Ker, pp. 46, 47). This, as Scott remarks, apparently without seeing the significance of the fact, is used by Eugenius against the Crites of the Essay. Finally, the fact that the arguments used by Crites against rime in the drama are taken in large measure from Howard's preface to Four New Plays, which seemed to Malone a conclusive reason for identifying Crites with Howard, is really a reason for rejecting that identification. For Crites, near the opening of his argument against rime, says distinctly: "I will . . . only urge such reasons against rime as I find in the writings of those who have argued for the other way" (ed. Ker, p. 91). Such language would not naturally be put into the mouth of Howard.

citing his own arguments. And Neander (Dryden) in replying to Crites uses the following words: "Since you are pleased I should undertake this province, I will do it, though with all imaginable respect and deference, both to that person from whom you have borrowed your strongest arguments, and to whose judgment, when I have said all, I finally submit" (ed. Ker, p. 94). (The construction is confused, as rarely in Dryden.) The person from whom Crites borrows his arguments is of course Howard. By this adroit compliment Dryden apparently strove to mollify his choleric brother-in-law for his own contumacy in venturing to oppose his opinions. The attempt was vain, as the sequel proved. Howard immediately retorted by publishing in that same year (1668), with his play The Great Favorite; or, The Duke of Lerma, an ill-tempered preface, in which, in declared opposition to Dryden, he not only renews his objections to rime, but attacks the validity of the famous three unities of the drama, which are not only upheld by the Crites of the Essay, but admitted as rules of great authority by the three other speakers of the dialogue. This preface alone should have prevented Malone from making his strange identifica-By it Howard laid himself open to a prompt and vigorous retort by Dryden in his Defence of an Essay of Dramatic Poesy. published in this same year (1668), with the second edition of his play The Indian Emperor.

To sum up, Howard in his published works (1) attacks the use of rime in the drama, (2) argues for the preeminence of the English drama over that of Greece and Rome, and (3) attacks the authority of the three unities. Crites quotes him on the first point and differs radically on the other two.

Howard being ruled out, Malone's first identification of Crites with Roscommon deserves respectful consideration, though no convincing proof of it can be given. Malone's argument from Roscommon's admiration of Horace might be made more emphatic. In An Essay on Translated Verse (1684) Roscommon speaks of Horace as his "master," adding that he has "served him more than twenty years." Furthermore, Roscommon shares Crites' dislike for rime. He translates in blank verse Horace's Art of Poetry, and closes his own Essay on Translated Verse with an attack on rime as a barbarous invention, illustrating his views by inserting

between his couplets a passage of twenty-seven lines of blank verse in praise of Milton. Though Roscommon does not discuss the drama in this *Essay on Translated Verse*, he professes infinite respect for ancient literature as a whole. Finally, four lines in the *Essay on Translated Verse*:

For who, without a qualm, hath ever look'd On holy garbage, though by Homer cook'd? Whose railing heroes, and whose wounded gods, Make some suspect he snores, as well as nods—

resemble somewhat in tone the following words of Crites in An Essay of Dramatic Poesy: "Homer described his heroes men of great appetites, lovers of beef broiled upon the coals, and good fellows; contrary to the practice of the French Romances, whose heroes neither eat, nor drink, nor sleep, for love" (ed. Ker, p. 55).

Roscommon presumably held much the same views in 1668 as in 1684. Dryden may have intended to flatter Roscommon by giving him a place in his Essay of Dramatic Poesy as a worthy champion of the ancients, and at the same time to please Howard by making Roscommon borrow his arguments against rime in the drama, just as Dorset (Eugenius) made use of his strictures on the threadbare character of the ancient plots. Against the identification of Crites with Roscommon it may possibly be urged that Dryden seems not to mention Roscommon by name earlier than 1680, in his Preface to Ovid's Epistles. But this is no proof that he was not already acquainted with Roscommon in 1668.

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THE SOURCE OF OCCLEVE'S LERNE TO DYE

In 1892 Furnivall wrote ¹ that he had sought in vain in the indexes of Migne and in the British Museum Class Catalogue of Manuscripts for the Latin source of Occleve's *Lerne to Dye* (c. 1421-1422), but that years before in the Lichfield Cathedral MS.

¹ EETS. ES. LXI, pp. xlv-xlvi.

16 (c. 1430-1440) he had seen an English prose version ² of what must have been the Ars Sciendi Mori that Occleve turned into English. Furnivall thought that St. Anselm was cited in the manuscript as the author of the treatise (tractatus qui scire mori appellatur). ³ But of course he could not find any such title among St. Anselm's works, for the simple reason that the author was not that great prior and archbishop of the eleventh century, but a beloved German mystic of the fourteenth century, Henry Suso, called Amandus, and often spoken of as the Minnesinger of the Divine Love.

About 1327-1328 ⁴ Suso wrote in German his Büchlein der ewigen Weisheit (or, Der ewigen Wisheit Buechli), of which a few years later (1334) ⁵ he completed a much expanded Latin version known as the Horologium Sapientiae. ⁶ This Horologium became one of the most popular devotional tracts of the late Middle Ages. It is a work of outstanding merit in respect of its mystic passion, imaginative vigor, and rhythmic grace. It takes its place beside

² Another Middle English prose version of the same original, from Ms. Douce 114, had been printed by Horstmann in *Anglia* only four years earlier (x, 357-365). Horstmann, however, did not note the connection between this prose version and Occleve's verse translation, and his reference to the author of the Latin original is vague and is taken at second hand.

^aAs a matter of fact the Lichfield Ms. contains not only the prose version in English, but also the original in Latin. The work is not ascribed to St. Anselm. He is cited, however, as the author of a treatise on the Beatitudes, copied in Latin, English, and French, which is bound up with the tract on death and a copy of *The Prick of Conscience*. Both the Beatitudes and the Prick are written in the same style, possibly by the same hand, as the tract, and on the same sort and size of vellum. Furnivall. evidently, somehow confused the tract and St. Anselm's Beatitudes.

K. Bihlmeyer, Heinrich Seuse, Deutsche Schriften (Stuttgart: 1907), pp. 102-103*; for an account of the legion of Mss.. see pp. 11*-18*, 36*-37*.

⁵ Bihlmeyer, pp. 108*-109*.

⁶Bihlmeyer, p. 105* and note 2; cf. the fourth chapter of Suso's Autobiography (English trans. by T. F. Knox, Lond.: 1865: new ed. 1913); J. Quéttif and J. Échard, Script. Ord. Praedicat. (2 vols. Paris: 1719-1721), I, p. 654. Suso's own Latin version, the Horologium, differs in content and order, as well as phrasing, from the Dialogus Sapientiae, etc., a version made by Laurentius Surius and published at Cologne: 1555; cf. SS. Actis Bollandus et Henschenius, Jan. 25.

Bernard's Homilies and even Thomas a Kempis' Imitation of Christ.

The second chapter of the second book of the *Horologium* is headed: *De scientia utilissima homini mortali que est scire mori*. This Latin chapter is the original not only of the Lichfield and certain other Middle English versions, but also of Occleve's poem, *Lerne to Due*.

Occleve himself speaks of this Latin original, but without describing it accurately or revealing its author. In his *Dialogue* with a Friend he writes that he has seen a small treatise in Latin, Learn for to Die, which is an excellent restraint to vice, and that he means to turn it into English. It will make men consider their sins at once, he avers, instead of delaying repentance until death.

One may note that Occleve speaks as though what he had seen were a separate treatise rather than a chapter in a fairly long work. Probably he knew nothing of the rest of the *Horologium*. Just what copy, or fragment of a copy, of the Latin version he may have used it would be difficult to say. It had been transcribed repeatedly, both in Germany and in other countries. A comparison, however, of six printed editions and six manuscripts of the *Horologium* in the British Museum Library with the exemplars of the poem itself and with the brief extracts from the Latin found

⁷ The following six M. E. prose versions of this chapter may be noted:
A) Lichfield Cathedral Ms. 16 (c. 1430-1440), announced by Furnivall (1892) for publication but not yet printed; B) Douce Ms. 322 = Bodl. Summary Cat. 21896 (15th cent.), f. 20, printed in modernized form by F. M. Comper, The Book of the Craft of Dying, etc. (Lond.: 1917), pp. 105-123; C) Harl. Ms. 1706 (15th cent.), f. 20, similar to Douce 322, but more complete; D) Bodl. Ms. 789 = Bodl. Summary Cat. 2643 (first half 15th cent.; see Brown, Register I, p. 37), f. 123; E) Douce Ms. 114, containing more material, in a rearrangement of seven chapters, of which the fifth is the section on death,—printed by Horstmann in Anglia X, pp. 323 ff., chapter on death, 357-365; Horstmann says this is the text printed in Caxton's Horologium Sapientiae, or Tretyse of ye seuen poyntes of trewe love [wisdom] (Westmynstere [1490], 4°; Camb. Univ. Libr., AB. 4. 64; see Hain 7771, Blades Π, pp. 231-233); F) Horstmann mentions an older Ms. in Caius College, Camb., which he had not examined.

^{*} EETS. ES. LXI, p. 117, ll. 204-231.

⁶ O. F. Bricka, Essai sur la vie, les écrits et la doctrine de Henri Suso, etc. (Diss., Strassbourg: 1854), p. 28; M. Diepenbrock, H. Suso's Leben und Schriften (2d ed. Regensburg: 1837), p. xi.

in the margin of the poem, shows that Occleve must have used a text substantially identical with that of the undated fifteenth century [1480?] quarto edition of 183 printed, unnumbered leaves, attributed to Conrad Winters.¹⁰

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FALLING AS A THEME IN LITERATURE

Since the fair field of literature has become the place where the psycho-analysts may enter the lists, there may be some doubt whether the writers of the future will wittingly lay themselves open to attack by expressing more than a casual interest in falling.

The delicacies of fine literature are not so much the concern of Milton as the magnificent setting, impressive spaciousness, the gorgeous epic effect. A fall of a few minutes, or of a few hours, is therefore unsuited to his plan; he requires a nine days' plunge, accompanied by the orchestration of confounded chaos, into an

¹⁰ Brit. Mus. Cat. No., IA. 4163; duplicate copy, IA. 4164. See Cat. of Books Printed in the Fifteenth Cent., now in the Brit. Mus., p. 251. The six printed editions are: (1) the edit. just noted; (2) 848. b. 21, 8°, Coloniae: 1509, without pagination; (3) IA. 24148, 4°, Venetiis: 1492, 64 leaves without pagination, printed in double columns; (4) IA. 39278, 4°, [1480?]; (5) T. 480 (1), 8°, Coloniae: 1503, without pagination; (6) IA. 49032, 4°, Allosti: [1488?], 90 leaves, without pagination or catchwords. (1), (2), (5), and (6) are practically identical texts, the few differences being due primarily to mistakes in copying, disagreement in reading abbreviations, etc. Occleve's poem in the main follows these texts, with considerable condensation and omission of the Latin, and with many additions of his own making. (3) is a slightly abbreviated edition, with a few different readings. But Occleve, though he abridges, does not heed all the abbreviations of (3), and frequently he has the very matter of (1)-(6) that (3) has rejected. Again, (4) abridges still further, but Occleve does not follow it and almost invariably has the omitted matter. Obviously, then, Occleve does not follow (3) or (4), but, rather, (1) = (2), (5), (6), or a text substantially identical with (1). A study of the six manuscripts (Arundel 512, f. 90b, 14th cent.; Addit. 18318, f. 86b, 14th cent.; Royal 5. C. 111, f. 297-301, 15th cent.; Addit. 15105, f. 3, 1463-1478; Sloane 982, f. 66-117, 15th cent.; Addit. 20029 (2), f. 58, 15th cent.), and of the marginalia, points to the same conclusion. A detailed account of the relation of Occleve's poem to its source is being prepared.

abyss where Hell yawns wide to receive the victims. This epic element merges with superb drama in the spectacle of the angel's flaming headlong flight, attended with 'hideous ruin and combustion, down to bottomless perdition.' It is no longer the cautious historian but the poet of epic effects whose imagination is caught by the rush of elephants off the Alpine precipice.

Dante, also, is interested in a fall as a process; he it absorbed by its abruptness. Upon hearing the story of the unfortunate love of Francesca and Paolo, Dante, not yet made callous to suffering by a longer sojourn in Hell, swoons and falls down like a dead body. When he describes Plutus' conduct at the rebuke of Virgil, he shows us how the god swollen with rage falls down with the suddenness of sails borne over by the wind when the mast snaps.

It is obviously impossible that the poetic imagination should for long confine itself to the picture or procedure of a fall; poets of philosophical turn of mind must ferret out the hidden significance of the fall. Pope, to whom nothing of human significance is foreign and everything else is, sees ominous mischance lurking behind the fall of a pet lap-dog, for if a sparrow's fall could have meaning, what significance might attach to Shock's fall! Moreover, it is Pope who reposes his trust in the tranquility of the woman who remains mistress of herself "though China fall."

It would be exceedingly inappropriate for the Germanic temperament with its grave concern for dialectics and higher metaphysics to be caught by the mere spectacle of a fall. Falling as a thing in itself would be insufficient to enlist the attention of the scrupulous German scholar. When Otto Ludwig is obliged to wreak poetic justice on the evil Fritz Nettenmair, he allows him to dive headlong from the church belfry into the street. While the fall is in progress the author invites his reader to inspect the weights in the church clock; that done the reader may attend to the habits of the jackdaws. At length there comes from below the noise of a heavy body striking in the street. In the avoidance of the spectacular we may here observe the cool regard of the scientist who records only the fact.

Trial by fall has always appealed to the poetic imagination. It delightfully implies finality; it carries with it the authority of any method intended to kill or cure. In the popular legend Conrad's sweetheart decides to test her lover's mettle by letting him fall in

a basket from the roof of her house. His affection does not survive the trial. It was the Lesbian Poetess, however, who placed utter confidence in the trial by fall. Grubbing factualists since Athenaeus have derided the story of the Leucadian Rock, but no poet has been inveigled into the heresy of disbelief. Trial by fall in this remote time established itself beyond all cavil and dispute.

Victor Hugo also believes in trial by fall.—but with a difference. for to him a fall is the occasion for beguiling his victim into a museum of torments, there to insist that he undergo all the punishment the place affords. The poet's attitude toward his victim is that of the youthful inquisitor in dissecting a fly. When Dom Claude falls from off the tower of Notre Dame, the whole affair is superbly spectacular, violently antithetical; demoniacal. A fall of a few seconds is protracted for a half hour's service on the pillory. It is divided into three parts. At first Dom Claude falls but a few feet where he is rescued on a spout, here he lives for some time in the certain agony of what is about to happen to him; then he drops two hundred feet, and is blown by a gust of wind upon the roof of a neighboring house; finally he rolls down the roof of this house like a tile and continues into the street. With the romanticist's fine contempt for physics Hugo tells us that a fall of two hundred feet is seldom perpendicular or even slightly parabolical; and as we read it becomes apparent that the falling body must be allowed to flit about in the air, governed presumably not so much by the force of gravity as by the author's caprice. There is the touch of grotesquerie in Hugo's description that makes Dom Claude's fall the most diverting ever recorded.

To the melancholy of Becquer the fall of Tia Casca from the top of Mount Moncayo is filled with the pathos of human suffering. It is the story of how Tia Casca came to her end "like a large toad crushed under foot." The author freshly portrays the barbarous frenzy of the crowd as it pushes the witch to the edge of the cliff. The witch, with dishevelled hair, bloodshot eyes, mouth full of foam, her back towards the precipice, stealthily approached by a boy who is opening the blade of his knife with his teeth, makes an unforgettable picture. Tia Casca's fall is broken by a bush where she twists and turns, only to be torn loose by a large stone. She ends in the muddy slime at the bottom of the gorge. Coloured by the mauvaise grace of the peasant who is supposed to

tell it, the whole story is marked by primitive savagery and fierce passion.

From Becquer, the romanticist, to Masefield, the impressionist, is after all no far cry. Everything that is irrelevant is perhaps more noticeably shorn away, and all culminates in a single powerful stroke, like Rimski-Korsakov's treatment of a shipwreck with a single note on the Chinese gong. The Dauber is aloft taking in sail. There comes a gust; the sail leaps from his hands. He thinks his mate is falling; he catches at an arm in oilskins, quickly snatched away. Somebody curses. Then for a brief space all is movement: chains strike his hands; ropes shoot by. The sky is covered with a vast blackness. The fore top-gallant yard is far aloft; the snow beneath his fingers is wet and soft. Masefield's description of the fall is swift, taking no more time in the telling than in the happening.

Masefield's description of the Dauber's fall, impressively realistic as it is, no more than cloaks the wanton cruelty readers find in the Dauber's death. It is such sombre cruelty in falls that Edgar Allan Poe dislikes. He wishes a playful little diablerie of his own. The hand of the town clock catches the victim's head, presses out his eyes, and finally severs it. The victim is a somewhat disinterested observer of the proceeding. In this hearty contempt of falling there is humour that pleasantly seasons Poe's writing.

Properly to catalogue all the notable falls in literature would be to recatalogue literature under new rubrics. There would be the epic falls, the dramatic falls which involve tragedy, comedy and farce, and the lyric falls through which the poet aspires to poetic justice. A great imagination will be struck by the fall of Icarus from the sun; the realist may prefer the perfunctory account of the coast guard's plunge into the sea; those who desire edification from literature may rejoice with Jean Valjean as he escapes by jumping from the rigging. In fact, whatever the reader's taste, he may indulge it. Fortified in such an insistent tradition will not the poets and novelists of the present have courage in the face of the curiously penetrating Freudians to continue in the way so entertainingly established by the older writers?

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CYRANO DE BERGERAC AND GULLIVER'S TRAVELS

In his History of Fiction, 1814, Dunlop gives an excellent synopsis of Cyrano's Histoire Comique de la Lune,¹ which he ably proves by detailed comparison must have served as Swift's model for Gulliver's adventures in Brobdingnag.² From the same work, Borkowsky has collected a number of minor parallels, some of which are convincing, which seem to have suggested ideas found scattered through the four voyages of Gulliver. The importance of Cyrano's other fantastic voyage, Histoire Comique des Etats et des Empires du Soleil, as a source for Gulliver, has been completely overlooked.³

In this work is to be found the source for the withering satire heaped upon Gulliver, by the Houyhnhmms; a satire so exceptionally brutal that it has been regarded as the unique product of Swift's well-known misanthropy. This is true enough, but we are not therefore excused from noticing that a similar situation, in which the human race is treated with even worse humiliation, is to be found in a work which we know Swift depended upon for other hints in the composition of Gulliver's Travels.

In Gulliver, a general assembly of the Houyhnhnms is held to debate the traveller's fate.⁴ He is convicted of the unpardonable sin of being a Man. Man is said to be the worst of all creatures, first of all because as a Yahoo he is by nature, "malicious, treacherous, libidinous, cowardly, and insolent"; and second, because he has presumed to tyrannize over his fellow-animals and make them his slaves who are his superiors. The verdict of his judges is that the sentence of death be commuted to banishment.

In like manner Cyrano is tried by a tribunal of animals in the *Empire des Oiseaux*, in the sun. The charges against him are the same as those preferred against Gulliver.⁵ The feeling of the natives is much stronger than that of the Houyhnhnms, so much so that Cyrano hastens to claim that he is not at all what he appears to be, a base human monster, but that he is in reality a

¹ Cyrano's fantastic voyages were both published posthumously in 1656.

² Dunlop, Hist. of Fiction, ed. Wilson, 1911. Vol. II, 526-535.

³ Dunlop states that this romance "seems to have suggested the plan of the Voyage to Laputa," but the resemblance is superficial.

^{*}Du Soleil, pp. 286-293. All references are to the edition by P. L. Jacob,

[•] Ibid, 288-9.

perfectly respectable monkey. He offers to submit gladly to death, if his judges can prove the contrary:

"J'ajoutai, pour ma justification, qu'ils me fissent visiter par des experts, et qu'en cas que je fusse trouvé Homme, je me soumettois à être anéanti comme un monstre." ⁶

As Cyrano appears in the court room a spectator faints from the horror of gazing upon a man:

"J'entendis murmurer qu'on ne s'étoit pas davantage étendu à particulariser les circonstances de ma tragédie, à cause de l'accident arrivé à un Oiseau de la troupe qui venoit de tomber en pâmoison. . . . On crut qu'elle était causée par l'horreur qu'il avoit eue de regarder trop fixement un Homme." ⁷

One bird attempts to defend Cyrano, but its evidence is ruled out on the ground that the character of the witness has been corrupted by association with mankind,—

"Ma Pie se présenta pour plaider à sa place; mais il lui fut impossible d'avoir audience, à cause qu'ayant été nourrie parmi les hommes, et peut-être infectée de leur morale, il étoit à craindre qu'elle n'apportât à ma cause un esprit prévenu. . . ." 8

Finally the advocate appointed by the judge to defend the prisoner, rises to say,—

"Il est vrai, Messieurs, qu'ému de pitié, j'avois entrepris la cause de cette malheureuse bête; mais sur le point de la plaider, il m'est venu un remords de conscience, et comme une voix secrète qui m'a défendu d'accomplir une action si détestable. Ainsi, Messieurs, je vous déclare, et à toute la Cour, que, pour faire le salut de mon âme, je ne veux contribuer en façon quelconque à la durée d'un monstre tel que l'Homme."

This speech closes the proceedings, and Cyrano is sentenced to be devoured by insects.

When we remember that nowhere in the imaginary voyages before *Gulliver* is there such scathing satire directed against the human race, the significance of this unnoticed source for the *Voyage to the Houyhnhnms* is greatly increased.

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⁶ Ibid., 279.

⁷ Ibid., 290.

⁶ The remaining quotations are from pages indicated in note 4 above.

SHAKESPEARE MISREADS CHAUCER

At the beginning of the fifth act of the Merchant of Venice one reads the familiar lines:—

The moon shines bright. In such a night as this, When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees And they did make no noise, in such a night Troilus methinks mounted the Troyan walls, And sigh'd his soul toward the Grecian tents, Where Cressid lay that night.

It has long been recognized that the allusion is to Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde;* but it has not hitherto been noticed, so far as I am aware, that the allusion is in its most essential feature an inaccurate one. The moon did *not* shine bright, when Chaucer's Troilus kept watch on the Troyan walls.¹

After Criseyde's departure, Troilus and Pandarus spend a week as the guests of Sarpedon. Then, three days before the ten-days term which Criseyde has set, Troilus returns to Troy and haunts the places associated with his love:—

Upon the walles faste eek wolde he walke,
And on the Grekes ost he wolde see,
And to himself right thus he wolde talke,
"Lo, yonder is myn owene lady free,
Or elles yonder, ther tho tentes be!
And thennes comth this eyr, that is so sote,
That in my soule I fele it doth me bote." (5. 666-672)

On the tenth day Troilus mounts the walls soon after sunrise, and, with a short recess for a belated dinner shortly after noon, keeps his watch until evening, and till "fer within the night" (5. 1107-1183). Then, thinking that he had miscounted his day, he again

¹ For the accuracy of the subsequent allusions to the moonlight episodes of Thisbe, Dido, and Medea, see the notes in the Variorum edition of the play. Furness quotes Hunter (New Ill., 1, 309) to the following effect: "For the four moonlights in classical or quasi-classical story the poet did not draw on his imagination, but his memory. It is not that Troilus, Thisbe, Dido, and Medea might have done what they did when the moon was shining in full splendour . . . but the poet had read that they did what they are described as having done in the moonlight." Hunter is wrong as regards the allusion to Troilus, as we shall see.

mounts the walls the next morning and watches till night (5. 1192-1197). In none of these passages is there the slightest hint of moonlight—and for the very good reason that there was no moon to shine!

On the night before her departure from Troy, Criseyde promised her despairing lover that she would return—

Er Phebus suster, Lucina the shene, The Leoun passe out of this Ariete. (4. 1591-1592)

The ten days of her absence are to be measured by the time which it takes the Moon to pass along its zodiacal path from the sign Aries through Taurus, Gemini, and Cancer to the end of Leo.² But Chaucer has already placed the season of Criseyde's departure at the time of year when the Sun is "Upon the brest of Hercules Lyoun" (4. 32), i. e. in the early part of the sign Leo.³ A very elementary knowledge of astronomy is sufficient to show that with both the sun and the moon in the same sign, Leo, the moon is either not visible at all, or visible only as a very thin pale crescent for a brief time after sunset. At the time of Criseyde's departure the moon, in the latter part of Aries, was just approaching the phase of its last quarter, when it is visible only in the late night and early morning. Criseyde's promise is that she will return before the next new moon is visible.

It is not necessary to be even an elementary astronomer; for Chaucer has made the state of the moon perfectly clear in the words of Troilus himself:—

> I saugh thyn hornes olde eek by the morwe, Whan hennes rood my righte lady dere, That cause is of my torment and my sorwe; For whiche, O brighte Lucina the clere, For love of god, ren faste aboute thy spere! For whan thyn hornes newe ginne springe, Than shal she come, that may my blisse bringe! (5. 652-658)

² Troilus repeats her words in 5. 1188-1190. As the moon completes the circuit of the twelve signs in about 28 days, it would travel from about the twentieth degree of Aries to the end of Leo in ten days.

³ By Chaucer's calendar the Sun entered Leo on or about July 12. Skeat is wrong, I think, in saying that the sun was near the star Regulus, known as *Cor Leonis*, and (in Chaucer's time) near the twentieth degree of Leo. But the difference is not a vital one.

The changing phases of the moon play a most important part in the episode of Chaucer to which Shakespeare makes allusion; but the phases specified are those which preclude the possibility of the bright moonlight which slept so sweetly on the banks of Portia's Belmont garden. The moon, which to Shakespeare is but part of the romantic setting of a stage picture, is to the more sober art of Chaucer a means of measuring the passing days; and Chaucer has regulated the movements of his heavenly time-keeper with a conscientious accuracy which is thoroughly characteristic of his poetic method.

Shakespeare's misreading—or his faulty memory—of Chaucer has had one interesting consequence. I suspect that most modern readers of *Troilus and Criseyde* have allowed the haunting beauty of Shakespeare's lines, and the authority of his great name, to mislead them into supposing, even with Chaucer's page before them, that the scene of Troilus's watch was transacted with the romantic accompaniment of bright moonlight. For the writer of this article, at any rate, it was something of a shock to discover, after many years of minute acquaintance with Chaucer's poem, that the moon did *not* shine bright when Troilus mounted the Troyan walls, and sighed his soul toward the Grecian tents, where Cressid lay that night.⁴

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AN ETYMOLOGY FOR ME. OLYPRAUNCE, AN. ORIPRANCE

The first known instance of the rare ME. olypraunce occurs in Handlyng Synne 4578, in a passage in which Robert of Brunne, following William de Wadington's Manuel des Péchés, is discoursing against tournaments. There, he says, one may find all the seven deadly sins:

Fyrst, ys pryde, as bou wel wost, Auauntement, bobaunce, and bost; Of ryche atyre ys here auaunce, Prykyng here hors with olypraunce.

⁴Shakespeare does not utilize this episode of the story in his own Troilus and Cressida.

The word occurs once more in this same passage (4692):

Hem were leuer here of a daunce, Of bost, and of olypraunce, pan any gode of God of heuene.

In the *Manuel* there is no corresponding French word in the second of these passages, but to the first instance corresponds the unique *orprance*:

Qe orgoil les suyt, pur estre mustré Pur lur boban qe il unt mené, Lur orprance mustre al oyl, Lur vanité & lur orgoil.

This, at least, is the form of the word in Ms. Harleian 273, printed in Furnivall's edition of Handlyng Synne (EETS. CXIX, CXXIII). But Harleian 273 is the only one of the eleven manuscripts that I have examined that contains the form orprance; at least six others, including some of the earliest and best, have the form oripra(u)nce.\(^1\) That this is probably the correct reading is substantiated by the fact that the line is metrically imperfect if orprance is retained, since the verse is octosyllabic; and, although this assumption is not vital to my present argument, it is to be noted that the Middle English form, too, presumes a trisyllabic form in Old French.

No such word appears in any dictionary of Old French, and this is apparently the only recorded instance in Old French or Anglo-Norman. The Middle English word occurs in *Purity* 1349, where Belshazzar holds his empire 'in pryde and olipraunce,' and

¹Arundel 288 (end of 13th cent.), fol. 36b, col. 2, has oripraunce which appears in Graves 51 (mid-14th cent.), fol. 24a, col. 1. St. John's, Cambridge, 167 (end of 13th or early 14th cent.), fol. 108b, col. 2; has oriprance, which appears in the following 14th cent. Mss.: Harleian 4971, fol. 107b; Hatton 99, fol. 58b; Cambridge Univ. Libr. Ms. 6. 4, fol. 35a. This last Ms. Paul Meyer calls 'l'un des meilleurs textes qu'on ait de l'ouvrage de William de Wadington' (Romania xv, 348). Of the other Mss. consulted Royal 20 B XIV (early 14th cent.), fol. 21a, col. 2, has orpinance (?orpmance); Cambridge Univ. Libr. Ee 1. 20 (14th cent., but obviously very corrupt), fol. 27b, substitutes euere (scribal blunder for envie?); Harleian 4657, fol. 34b., col. 2, omits lines 4581-2; the relevant page of Harleian 337 is cut; and Cambridge Gg 1. 1 apparently does not contain the passage. For descriptions of the Mss., consult Meyer's articles, Romania VIII, 332-4, xv, 348-9, and Ward, Catalogue of Romances . . . in the British Museum III, 272-303.

it persists in the form oly-prance, sometimes corrupted into molly-prance, in the modern Northamptonshire dialect, where it means 'merry-making, boisterous jollity,' the third syllable being associated with prance.²

The only etymology hitherto proposed for olypraunce is that of Henry Bradley (Academy for Jan. 11, 1890), whose article I quote: "I would suggest, with some diffidence, that it may represent an Old French *olitriance, from the proper name Olybrius, which has given rise in French to other derivatives of cognate meaning. The Anglo-French original of the Handlyng Synne has orpraunce, but this can scarcely be other than a corrupt form."

This etymology is unsatisfactory, both because it assumes that the Anglo-Norman form, from which the Middle English must be derived, is further removed than the Middle English from the original, and because it necessitates assuming corruption. I wish to propose another explanation which accounts for the Anglo-Norman form (and, incidentally, the Middle English form) by a

regular phonological development.

OF. or(i) pel, 'cuivre d'or,' to which correspond OProv. aur(i) pel, Italian orpello (cf. Span. oropel, Port. ouropel) representing a VL. *auripelle(m), is a word used chiefly in describing the adornments of dress or the trappings of horses. In Italian the cognate word has been rich in derivatives: orpellaio, orpellamento, orpellare, orpellato, orpellatura (Tommaseo), and in Old Provençal a verb must be assumed to account for auripelat, 'couvert d'oripeaux, brillanté' (Raynouard, first instance, 1343).

² For 16th century instances, see NED.

³ Misprint for *olibriance?

'Bradley evidently refers to olibricux, adj., 'dédaigneux, vaniteux,' Godefroy, v. 592.

Now a VL. *auripellantia * would result in OF. *orpelance *

⁶ Sir Israel Gollancz, in his edition of *Cleanness* (note on line 1349), repeats Bradley's suggestion with some elaboration and less diffidence, without, however, referring to Bradley's article.

⁶Godefroy's first example is from Raimbert de Paris's Chevalerie Ogier 9015 (12th cent.).

⁷ Körting derives all the Romance words from *auripellis, but Thomas, in Hatzfeld-Darmesteter, assumes composition in OF. for oripel (s. v. oripeau). Du Cange records a Late Latin auripellum.

*Nouns ending in -ance (-antia) are usually derived from verbs, and in view of the Italian and Provençal verb, this is probable here, though such

by the side of which there may be assumed a form *oripelance, influenced by the learned form OF. oripel. *Or(i) pelance would then become *or(i) plance, as is frequently the case in Old French where a protonic vowel stands before a liquid or nasal (cf. VL. *advesperare > OF. avesprer; VL. adtemperantia > OF. atemprance beside atemperance; VL. quartarantia > OF. quartrance.) 10 If we assume that the word is derived from oripel in the Old French period, and not directly descended from Vulgar Latin, the syncope of the e would again be regular, as is shown by cabaret: cabartresse beside cabaretresse; pareil: reparleur beside repareilleur. 11

By assimilation of the second r, *or(i) plance would become *or(i) prance.\(^{12}\) The development would thus be: *auripellantia > *or(i) pelance > *or(i) plance > *or(i) prance. By metathesis of the r and l, which is extremely common,\(^{13}\) *oriplance would become *oliprance, the form preserved in Middle English.

formations on nouns are also found, e. g., OF. maleurance, malaisance (Thomas, Essais de Philologie Française, Paris, 1897, p. 58); and there are many cases of nouns in -antia with no corresponding verb (Meyer-Lübke, Gram. der Rom. Sprachen II, 555-6, § 518).

⁹ Schwan-Behrens, Gram. des Altfr. 80. 3 and 173.

¹⁰ For other examples of this syncope, see W. P. Shepard, A Contribution to the History of the Unaccented Vowels in Old French, Easton, 1897, pp. 64 ff., 75 ff., 82 ff. It should be noted that the examples cited differ from *auripellantia in having a single consonant after the unaccented e, and it might be expected that the ll would tend to preserve the preceding vowel (Shepard, pp. 91 f.). But, as the syncope, except in mirabilia, merveille and a few other words, is 'generally late, belonging to a distinctly Old French period of development' (ibid., p. 67), and as it affects unaccented protonic e representing Latin a (ibid., pp. 64-7), it would be probable here. There are not enough clear examples, especially of two unaccented pretonic vowels of which the second stands before a liquid, to formulate a definite law; but in this case the analogical retention or reintroduction of the first unaccented vowel would probably facilitate the dropping of the second.

²¹ Shepard, p. 75; cf. p. 67.

¹² Cf. oripetargus > orpres (Suchier, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie I, 432). For other instances of assimilation of l to r, see the works cited below for metathesis of r and l.

²³ Cf. OF. gilofre (also girofre) for girofle (*carophilum); OF. recolice (liquiritia); OF. coldre (corylum); Ital. dial. grolioso for glorioso; Span., Port. palabra (parabola). For more examples, see Behrens, Ueber reciproke Metathese im Romanischen, pp. 73 ff.; Nigra, Metatesi, Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie XXVIII, 1 ff.; Paul, Prinzipien der Sprach-

The semantic development is easy to follow. It is natural that a word meaning 'gold-leaf,' used, as the Old French examples show, especially for magnificent trappings, should have a derivative meaning 'love of finery, ostentation.' The first citation from Handlyng Synne, it may be noted, associates the word with 'ryche atyre'; and 'love of display' is apparently the original meaning in Middle English. In fact, the meaning of the word in the Manuel is much closer to the original significance than is indicated by Furnivall's punctuation of the Anglo-Norman. With the comma after 'lur orprance mustre al oyl,' vanité and orgoil of the next line must be construed as merely additional subjects in apposition to orprance. But as mustre cannot be intransitive, it is plain that the lines should read:

Lur orprance mustre al oyl Lur vanité & lur orgoil.

That is, orprance, the subject of the sentence, is not an abstract vice like vanité and orgoil, the objects, but describes the particular circumstances which reveal these general characteristics. In other words, if the passage is correctly construed and punctuated, orprance is not likely to mean 'pride' so much as 'ostentation,' or perhaps 'extravagance in dress.' But it is not at all necessary to insist on this precise interpretation of the word for our present purpose, since other words furnish us with abundant proof of the close connection between 'pride' and 'ornament.' OF. bobance means not only 'arrogance, présomption' (definitions from Godefroy), but also 'train, pompe, grand apparail, faste'; so bobant, not only 'exaltation d'orgueil,' but 'ajustement, habit luxueux'; and bobancier, v., 'dépenser son avoir en parures, en vêtements luxueux.' 14

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geschichte, 4th ed., p. 65. Metathesis to oliprance would be facilitated by the existence of other words in OF. beginning with oli-, such as oliphant, oliban, and particularly, perhaps, by such forms as oliphanbe (so too in ME.) by the side of oriflambe (Godefroy v, 637).

²⁴ Cf. further ON. pryöi, 'ornament,' and OE. pryde, 'pride.' It may be remarked here that a great variety of figurative senses has developed in the derivatives of *auripellem in Italian and Provençal; cf. Ital. orpellare, 'ascondere o mascherare la verità,' etc. Raynouard cites from Deudes de Prades, Auz. Cass.: 'Paire e fill de villania, Auripelat de parlaria.'

For the development of the meaning of oliprance in Mod. Engl. dialect, cf. Mod. French bombance, 'grande chère.'

REVIEWS

- Les Proverbes de Bon Enseignement de Nicole Bozon publiés pour la première fois par A. Chr. Thorn. Lund, 1921. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift... Bd. 17, Nr. 4., xxxiv + 65 pp.
- Le Purgatoire de Saint Patrice du Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque Nationale Fonds Français 25545 publié pour la première fois par Marianne Mörner. Lund, 1920. Lunds Universitets Årsskrift...Bd. 16. Nr. 4, xxvii + 62 pp.

Both of these texts received favorable notice in *Romania* some months since. Miss Mörner's work seems thoroughly to deserve the brief encomium already given to it; ¹ with M. Långfors' unqualified praise for the work of M. Thorn, ² however, I cannot unreservedly agree.

The title-page and the avant-propos to Les Proverbes de Bon Enseignement are, at the outset, slightly misleading when they describe the work as here "publié pour la première fois." It was included, together with a Middle English version, in the Minor Poems of the Vernon Manuscript, published by the Early English Text Society in 1901. That edition, however, gave the Vernon version alone; the new one gives in full two manuscripts 4 (by one of which the Vernon total of 108 stanzas is increased to 130), and adds at the foot of each page what seems to be a full list of the variant readings of the other seven.

In the completeness of such a list of variants would lie the chief value of a new edition, which ought, coming twenty years after the publication of the Vernon version, to be definitive. Unhappily, M. Thorn's list is far from complete; and, as no consistent principle of selection has been used, it is actually misleading. Even the most careful reader, noticing that the editor gives such variants as ki en for ken (1, 5), len tent for l'entent (1, 11), benet for beneit (1, 13), dist for dit (11, 2), ren and rein for rien (VII, 1; and XXXVI, 3), mout for molt (XXXVI, 3; XXXVII, 3; et al.), Kar nyent

¹ Romania, XLVII, 157-158.

² Romania, XLVIII, 158-159.

^oThe editor's statement on this point (p. iii) is the more surprising as he makes incidental mention himself (p. xxv) of the E. E. T. S. edition.

^o Selden Supra 74, Oxford, and Royal 8 E. xvII, London.

entendre et molt lyre for Kar nent entendre et molt lire (XXXVI, 3),⁵ or Ki doun ne present ne receyt for Ki doun ne present ne receit (XXIII, 2), naturally assumes that the list must be complete: the editor would seem to have been meticulously careful to include even the most insignificant differences. And yet I am convinced that little more than half the actual variants are given.

A comparison of the Vernon Manuscript as given in the Early English Text Society's edition with the same manuscript as M. Thorn would have it shows seventeen cases of disagreement in the first twenty-one lines.⁶ There are similarly fourteen differences in the opening fifteen lines between M. Thorn's reading for Ms. Rawlinson Poetry 241 (Oxford) and the reading of the same lines of the same manuscript previously given by Paul Meyer; ⁷ also twenty differences in the first eighteen lines of the reading for Ms. Bodleian 761 from Paul Meyer's reading of it.⁸ The original manuscripts are, of course, inaccessible to the American reviewer, but I have no hesitation in declaring that the majority of these differences must be due to oversights on the part of M. Thorn. And it would have been better to give no variants at all (except those necessary to sense and textual completeness), rather than a list so unsystematic and so incomplete.

After the text come three pages of notes (for the most part linguistic references), an eight-page glossary "qui n'a point la prétention d'être complet," and a *Table Strophique*, valuable, in spite of errors, as showing the number of stanzas in each of the nine manuscripts and the order in which those stanzas are arranged.

^{*}Nyent....lyre would have saved space and still been abundantly clear; one word alone would have made the variant reading evident in other cases (such as that in XXIII, 2, here cited) where the editor prints out a whole line.

⁶ Among them M. Thorn would read ici for issi (I, 10), delit for delist (I, 12), Dunt celu soit for Dount cely seit (I, 13), Sur tute for Sour tote (II, 3), tous pechez for touzt pecches (III, 3), etc. Errors in the E. E. T. S. edition are probably responsible for about one-fourth of the total, as a collation by Dr. Carleton Brown of other passages in that edition with the original MS. has shown an average of about one minor error in every five lines.

⁷ Notice du Manuscrit Rawlinson Poetry 241 (not 41 as in Romania index), in Romania xxix, 3.

⁶ Romania XXXVII, 525.

P. 57, note.

The first part of the volume is devoted to an introduction, which adequately covers the necessary ground, and throws some interesting light on source material. The editor's discussion of the relationship between the various manuscripts is perhaps a little perfunctory; but this is probably a fault on the right side, especially since Bédier's exposure of the weakness of the manuscript pedigree practice. For matters of versification, M. Thorn contents himself with a general reference to the work of Meyer and Vising on Bozon; ¹⁰ for the extremely complicated language he merely gives occasional references to the same scholars, ¹¹ and to Albert Stimming's discussion of the various Anglo-French traits in Boeve de Haumtone. ¹²

The introduction also contains an important chapter on the authorship of the *Proverbes*. M. Thorn sums up the arguments previously brought forward by Meyer and Vising in favour of considering as the original reading the "Or priez tous pur boun" of Ms. Selden Supra 74, and as a natural miscopy of this the "... pur le houm" given by the Vernon, the only other manuscript in which the verse occurs.¹³ But he wholly ignores the existence of three detached Middle English versions which are not without significance in this connection. Two of them (Harleian 2251, fol. 156v.-167r.; and Ashmole 59, fol. 84v.-98r.) have already attracted attention.¹⁴ They are both versions of an expanded translation of our *Proverbes*, and contain at the end these lines:

¹⁰ Les Contes Moralisés de Nicole Bozon, Paris, Société des anciens textes français, 1889; and Deux Poèmes de Nicholas Bozon, Gothembourg, 1919.

¹¹ Adding to the works mentioned in the previous note Vising's *Plainte d'Amour*, Gothembourg, 1905-1907, and the same editor's *Purgatoire de saint Patrice*, Gothembourg, 1916.

²³ Halle, 1899. The unavoidable use of scattered references such as these serves to emphasize our need of an adequate treatise on Anglo-French; though by the year 1300 (to which, approximately, the present text belongs) Anglo-French irregularities, especially in the spelling, run such riot as to defy all attempts at a general scientific classification. The only extant book on the subject is the work of an American scholar: Louis Emil Menger's Anglo-Norman Dialect (New York, 1904); it is, unfortunately, awkward in arrangement and far from adequate.

¹³ That a Boun or Bosoun might be identified with Bozon had, of course, been clearly established by Vising and by Paul Meyer.

¹⁴ Cf. Max Förster in Herrig's Archiv, civ, pp. 304-309; and Miss H. E. Allen in M. P., xiv, pp. 757-758.

"If I durst presume or take oon
My name to reherce as to youre highnesse
Myn auctor and I both bin named John
Lyke as the frenge [var. frenshe] sayde it expresse
To pray for us . . ." 15

The writer of this version may well have metamorphosed Boun to Joun, as the Vernon copyist is assumed to have turned him into le houm; but his statement none the less weakens the case for Bozon, though doubtless very slightly.

The existence of a third Middle English version, in Harley 4733 fol. 30a, 16 has, as far as I know, passed entirely unnoticed. An examination of its concluding verses, to see what author's name (if any) is given there, would be highly to the purpose.

Of new evidence adduced for Bozon's authorship, the citation (on page ix) of three manuscripts where the Proverbes occur in close association with works indubitably by him is extremely suggestive. On the other hand, the parallels in development between Bozon's Contes and these Proverbes are not of much significance. For the *Proverbes* were unquestionably written at least a decade, more probably over twenty years, earlier than the Contes, and M. Thorn has succeeded 17 in making it seem indubitable that the author of the latter had as he wrote, in mind if not before his eyes, a copy of the former; but we cannot say from this that he was studying for material a juvenile work of his own rather than a work by someone else; indeed, the latter supposition is perhaps the more plausible of the two. Similarly, such passages in Bozon's other works as seem to have been influenced by the Proverbes 18 only prove that Bozon knew these Proverbes well: they cannot prove he wrote them. None the less, in spite of the weakness of certain of his arguments, M. Thorn has undoubtedly succeeded in increasing the probability that Bozon was the author of the present work.

On the question as to who Bozon was, apart from his works, no new light is here thrown. "Nicole Bozon, célèbre frère mineur qui vivait vers 1300" is all the new editor has to say of his per-

¹⁸ Förster, loc. cit., p. 307.

¹⁶ Carleton Brown's Register, no. 2248.

¹⁷ Pp. x-xi.

¹⁸ Pp. xi, xii, xiii.

sonality; and this, if we add that he was probably a native of the North of England, is essentially all that is known to us.

A valuable part of M. Thorn's study is the discussion (xiv-xxii) of the Latin sources for the hundred and twenty odd maxims here involved. He has established the original provenience of all but ten of them, and has shown that the author's most fertile source was the Florilegium Sedulii Scoti, our best known version of which occurs in Codex Cusanus 52 (C 14). Worth noting, perhaps, among his discoveries is the curious metamorphosis by which, through a quaint isolation and misunderstanding of the passage in the Book of Judges (IX, 8 ff.), Oliva, Ficus, and Rampnus came to be cited by our author among the classic and biblical philosophers.

M. Thorn's edition, in sum, though of uneven value, is welcome as an addition to the published works of Bozon. The variant readings given for seven of the nine manuscripts are essentially worthless; on the author's language and versification the editor purposely adds nothing to what had already been said by Paul Meyer and M. Vising; and we are taught nothing new as to Bozon's personality or identity. But two more manuscript versions of the *Proverbes* are now made accessible (we hope in accurate form); the evidence for Bozon's authorship is considerably strengthened, despite the weakness of some of the editor's arguments and his overlooking of some extant evidence against his thesis; and the Latin sources forming the basis of the whole work are set forth well and in detail.¹⁹

Miss Mörner's work impresses us as far more thoroughgoing

¹⁹ A list of misprints and errors would include, in addition to numberless linguistic variants omitted, the following:—

P. xxvi l. 4, for xxxix read xxix; p. xxx l. 4, read S, V, A H, B et O; p. 2, 4n. to V Ms R add mais le nom Seneka manque; p. 4, 9n. add V Salamon; p. 5, 10n. add V omet le nom Tobie; p. 10, 22n. for HBVO hontage (BV) hountage read HO hontage BV hountage; p. 12, 26n. V Serafin add et texte comme R; p. 28, 55n. [ad fin.] for l. 3, 4, et 5 manquent read l. 4, 5, et 6 manquent; p. 28, 56n. for AB Syrak read ABV Syrak; p. 36, 74n. after A deuorabit add V omet le nom Rampnus; p. 39, 79n. after B Philosophus add V Seneca; p. 45, 91n. add Rem. V n' a que quatre lignes (l. 5 et 6 manquent); p. 50, 100n. after O Agust add V omet le nom; p. 55, [last line but one,] read v. p. xv.; in the Table Strophique, column under V, 38, for 6 read 4; ibid., 49, for 6 read 4; ibid., 50, for 4 read 6; ibid., 61, for — read 4; ibid., 61b, for 4 read —; etc.

than M. Thorn's. In 1917 she edited the Berol Anglo-French version of Saint Patrick's Purgatory; she now presents, in a thoroughly adequate edition, the first continental French version of the story to be made available. From the literary point of view this version has little significance, but it is interesting and important as evidence for use in the tracing of the history of the legend. It has no direct connection with the other versions, and indeed its contents clearly establish the need for revising the classification of branches suggested by H. L. D. Ward in his Catalogue of Romances.²⁰

The opening lines lead up to the prime feature of Ward's first group: the quaint account of the Irishman's confession, including (Il. 28 ff.):

"Qu' onques encor en son vivent N'avoit que .v. hommes ocis. Ne cuidoit pas avoir mespris: Mains en avoit navrez a tort; Ne savoit pas s'estoient mort. ."

The French author, however, misses much of the point of the story as the other versions tell it, by failing to note the man's surprise that homicide should be considered a sin at all, and by omitting the significant comment (which possibly throws much light on later history) that this is the nature of Irishmen: "Haec ideo proposui ut eorum ostenderem bestialitatem." Besides including in this rather aimless way the Irish Confession, the present version regularly shows its connection with the first rather than with the second group; but in one or two passages it is so definitely in accord with the latter that a regrouping of the various branches becomes imperative. Miss Mörner is singularly well qualified to undertake such a re-classification, and we hope that she will do so in the near future. For the moment, however, she has contented herself with merely pointing out the inconsistences which arise under the existing scheme of groups.

Miss Mörner's introduction includes a careful and accurate account of the versification and language of the unknown author. He seems to have been a native of Champagne, but writes throughout in good Central French, only rarely betraying his local origin.

20 London, 1893, Vol. 11, pp. 444 ff.

²¹ So in Ms. Royal 13 B viii, 101b, col. 2; quoted by Ward, loc. cit. p. 444.

Occasionally his internal elision is strikingly advanced: more than once (e. g. in the octosyllabic line "Et crois et yaue benoite avoient ...", l. 831) iaue benoite has only four syllables; religion has only three, etc. There is little else in his rather feeble craftsmanship that attracts attention, unless it be his occasional tendency to fail in rhyme and fall back on assonance. The manuscript, which had previously been described by M. Långfors, 22 was written close to the year 1317; the text seems to have been composed very shortly before that date. Miss Mörner's notes are adequate, and her glossary complete.

There are few things in the text itself that call for comment. The form clergiers (1. 843) is worth noting: the editor observes simply that "clergiers doit être une déformation de clergiés-due peut-être au copiste, car l'auteur aurait très bien pu admettre l'assonance cordeliers: clergiés." But the form clergier occurs elsewhere, though Godefroy does not include it: specifically in 1. 65 of the Vie de Saint Léger, where Gaston Paris emended it to clergiet. It should probably stand in both cases. Again, régner in the sense of to live ("Qu'en paradis puissiens régner," 1. 1033) also seems worthy of notice. The only example cited by Godefroy for a similar use is from a passage in Deschamps 23 where the meaning is much closer to literally ruling or lording it, with perhaps a suggestion of specifically ruling-one's wife! La Curne de Sainte-Palaye (s. v. régner) gives one or two instances 24 where the meaning is clearly to live, but all are of the late XIVth or the XVth century; the present case is earlier by some fifty years than any example that had previously come to light. We might recognize here the influence of the Provençal use of renhar, or, perhaps more probably, that of the passage in the Vulgate (Matt. xxv, 34) "Tum dicet Rex . . . Venite, benedicti Patris mei, possidete paratum vobis regnum." The line (l. 1033) occurs in the French author's epilogue, and is therefore not influenced by any phrase in the earlier versions.

²² Romania XLIV, 87 ff.

²³ Ed. Société des anciens textes français, v, 249. (Godefroy refers in error to v, 248.)

²⁴ I am indebted to a kind colleague for calling my attention to Sainte-Palaye's examples, and also for pointing out some interesting cases of the same use in various modern French dialects.

In the Romania review of Miss Mörner's work, M. Jeanroy pointed out ²⁵ one or two cases in which her emendations of the manuscript reading appear unnecessary. I should like to suggest two others:

- (a) line 75, pas nel croiroient: the correction nel for the Ms. ne is not needed; croire could perfectly well be used absolutely.²⁶
- (b) line 908, ainsi (=likewise): the emendation to aussi is hardly necessary.

It may also be remarked that line 748, Et c'estoit combles par dessus need present no difficulty, though it seems to perplex Miss Mörner; combles (or perhaps comblés) is quite natural in the sense of convex. Cf. Yvain, line 530, [li] conble de l'escu.²⁷

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Shakespeare. By RAYMOND ALDEN. New York, Duffield and Company, 1922. Master Spirits of Literature Series. xi, 377 pp.

The time was ripe for a general study on Shakespeare, one that should be authoritative and, in the best sense, popular. The existing surveys had become, in the light of recent scholarship, wholly inadequate and untrustworthy. Professor Alden obviously faced a difficult problem, for it has become an arduous task to work one's way through a wilderness of Shakespeareana. Nor was the undertaking made easier by the fact that much of the game is not worth the candle. Of his difficulty he was fully aware. "During the past fifty years there have been few original thoughts respecting Shakespeare's writings, and nine-tenths of them are obviously

²⁵ Romania XLVII, 157-158.

²⁶ Godefroy gives no example of such use, but it is far from rare in O. F. Cf., for example, *Miracles de Notre Dame*, ed. *Société das anciens textes*, 1878, vol. III, xx, line 10.

²⁷ Such misprints as occur are not likely to cause any difficulty to the reader. I note the following.—P. 11 n., for 299 read 298; p. 25 n., for 834 read 833; p. 29 line 984, for par read Par; p. 37, for 626 read 627; p. 57 Repaistre etc., for repahu read repail. Perhaps I may add that the Scandinavian abbreviation "n:o" for "numéro," used by both Miss Mörner and M. Thorn, looks a little unnatural in a French context.

wrong" (p. xviii). This remark, as well as others in the preface, may well serve as a warning for those erratic and untrained individuals who feel that they have solved some Shakespearean riddle. Baconians, incidentally, will get little comfort in the fact that the only reference to the "various heresies which have troubled not a few amateur students" (even the name 'Baconian' is not mentioned) is a note in the bibliography (p. 364).

It may be said at once that the selection of Professor Alden to write this volume was a happy one. Not only is he a trained scholar in the field of rigid historical criticism, but he knows its usefulness. In dealing with controversial material, likewise, he had already shown his fitness. His aesthetic insight and moral judgments, as we also know, were to be relied on. The result is the best general survey of Shakespeare that we have, a book that should find its way to the desk of all students of the dramatist. The volume reveals a completeness in scope, a sympathetic and keen analysis, and, above all, a sanity that has come to characterize not only Professor Alden's work but (as noted by a distinguished student of English literature who visited our shores recently) that of American scholars in general. Withal, the book is delightfully written, a study that affords at once a notable illustration of sound scholarship and literary charm.

The opening chapter of fifty pages on "The Age" is a model of compression. The reviewer knows no brief account that will serve so well to introduce beginners to that many-sided period. Professor Alden, in a necessary reminder, makes clear the fact that many mediæval ideas on such subjects as religion, politics, and literature, lived on into the Renaissance (pp. 20, 23, 33 ff.). Too much emphasis cannot be laid on this point. It may not be irrelevant to mention in this connection the valuable study by Professor Berdan on Early Tudor Poetry (1920); some pertinent remarks, including an exhaustive bibliography, by Professor Craig in the Philological Quarterly (pub. at the Univ. of Iowa) for April, 1922; and a sound article, probably not sufficiently well-known to teachers of English, on the "Middle Ages" in the Ency. Brit. Even Dr. Johnson observed that "the Reformation did not immediately arrive at its meridian."

Considerations of exigency doubtless prevented Professor Alden from discussing such matters as science in Shakespeare's day: the

fact, for example, that the illustrious Harvey (who had studied at Padua, the medical center of the time), made known his discovery on the circulation of the blood in London shortly before Shakespeare's death. One misses some mention, also, of the effect that the introduction of gunpowder had on the civilization of that "Perhaps nothing," says Sir Walter Raleigh (Shakespeare's England, 1916, I, p. 12), "caused more disquiet to those who remembered the glories of old England than the introduction of newer and deadlier weapons." And Berdan (op. cit., p. 2): "Probably not many ideas have more completely revolutionized human society [than the discovery of gunpowder]. It made for democracy, since the armed peasant became the equal of the mailed knight. Feudalism, based as it was upon the defensive power of armor, with its fundamental conception of innate superiority, was thus doomed." In the light of such facts, the many complaints and protests against the various abuses from men like Harrison, Greene, and Stubbes become significant. These writers, who give us the most intimate knowledge of Elizabethan England, voice an uneasiness that sounds strangely familiar to our modern ears. "Men looked back with regret to the England of their fathers and grandfathers. . . . Merry England was not the England of Elizabeth; it was the England which the men of that age cherished and celebrated in memory. The new world that they lived in bewildered them; the country had got loose from its moorings, and was drifting none knew whither" (Raleigh, op. cit., p. 40). Reference in Shakespeare to "these scambling and unquiet times" and many other allusions of a like nature, take on a new meaning in the light of this disquietude over the new order. A minor slip in the chapter may be noted (p. 43). "The Curtain," as well as "The Theater," was built in 1576. Edmund Tilney, Master of the Revels, may have had a greater influence on Shakespeare's dramatic evolution than might be supposed from Professor Alden's account (p. 43). For a discussion see a review of Alden's book in the Saturday Review (10 March, 1923, pp. 326 f.).

The second chapter discusses Shakespeare's life and works. Here fact is carefully sifted from fiction. The perplexing question of Shakespeare's marriage (pp. 59 f.) is treated sanely (cf. however, Saturday Review, loc. cit.); the discussion of the dramatist's education and reading in the adolescent period is likewise sound. Professor Alden is somewhat misleading, however, when he states:

The poet's knowledge of Lily's Latin Grammar is "echoed in the schoolboy scene of The Merry Wives, and reminiscences of the authors on the conventional program of readings, Ovid above all, are found in many another poem and play." Echoes of Lily occur also in several other plays (cf. H. R. D. Anders, Shakespeare's Books, Berlin, 1904, pp. 15 f.; Shakespeare's England, op. cit., pp. 230 ff.). In discussing the vexed question of the coat-of-arms (p. 73) Professor Alden could have referred to the humorous speeches of the clown and his father in The Winter's Tale (V, ii, 137 ff.), remarks on being "a gentleman born" that tease one's curiosity. On the point "whether William Shakespeare or his father was the more interested in the matter (i. e., in procuring arms), it is impossible to say," a reference may be made to a statement in the chapter on "Heraldry" in S.'s England, op. cit., II, p. 85): "Arms inherited from a father were, according to the heraldry books, worthier than those a man might obtain for him-For "adjourning" (p. 59) probably "adjoining" was meant. "Hammet" (p. 60) should be "Hamnet." The name of the actor-friend, Heming[e], is generally spelt without the final 's' (pp. 85, etc.). Eminently sane are the remarks (p. 60) respecting the married life of the poet. On p. 86 is one of the many brilliant attacks in the book on "those moderns who construct Shakespeare's biography by divination." The mischievous habit of treating the dramatist's "periods in terms of personality" is also ably discussed (pp. 102 f.). Particularly suggestive are the remarks on the conditions under which the poet may have penned tragic scenes. "He is quite as likely to have passed upstairs from a merry bout of words with Mistress Mountjoy, his landlady's daughter, to work out the agonies of Othello's temptation, as to the writing of a pastoral or a clownish scene" (p. 103).

Obviously within the limits prescribed by a review it is impossible to speak of this book in detail. The third chapter on "The Poems" is discussed with imaginative insight and the sanity found in the author's well-known work on the Sonnets. The general reader will welcome the treatment of the Conceit, a summary of the author's investigation of that subject to which reference is made in the bibliography. He rightly emphasizes the "supreme poetic craftsmanship . . . which links these poems with the Shakespeare of the plays." Illuminating is the remark: "Whole areas of life lay behind the writing of the line

With what I most enjoy contented least."

The next chapter on "The Chronicle Histories" presents a good survey of the evolution of the historical plays. Professor Alden is excellent on both parts of *Henry IV*. The reader will welcome the discussion on the inconsistencies in the character of Henry V. Some persons may object, however, to the adjective in the praise bestowed upon the famous scene in the play—"the cleverest scene that Shakespeare ever wrote."

The chapter entitled "The Comedies" again reveals Professor Alden's well-poised judgments. Here again but one or two points can be noted. The aesthetic and moral problems in A Midsummer Night's Dream and The Merchant of Venice receive able consideration. The remarks on the dramatist's purpose in dropping Sly Professor Alden might wish to qualify in the light of a recent investigation. See Mod. Lang. Notes, xxxvi (June, 1921), pp. 321 ff. Eminently satisfactory is the discussion on The Merry Wives. The treatment of the three greatest comedies is brilliant. He rightly points out (p. 225) that the last act of As You Like It is disappointing. His reason for this is convincing: it is "to be enjoyed as one enjoys a comic opera, to which a great part of its technique is very similar."

Professor Alden's problem in dealing with the tragedies (chapter VII) was the most difficult; for that very reason, also, it may be considered the best chapter in the book. The great interest shown in Shakespeare's tragedies in recent years is attested by the author's bibliography. He refuses to commit himself on the authorship of Titus Andronicus. Readers will welcome the able and intensely interesting discussion on Romeo and Juliet. The many perplexing problems in Hamlet Professor Alden meets with common sense, good judgment, and keen analysis. "When the details of this great tragedy are scrutinized with frankness and at leisure, it is seen to be a very imperfect composition; greatness and perfection, littleness and imperfection, are by no means necessarily wedded" (p. 256). "For the spectator as spectator, Hamlet is a satisfying play, and the brilliant action conceals its own defects" (p. 257). One welcomes also, in the face of recent scepticism, the sound view on Othello (p. 264). The "three dramatic creations [in this play are] unsurpassed in vitality and tragic power by anything in the literature of the world. The plausibility

of the play . . . is as usual due in good part to Shakespeare's swift and sure-footed technique; but it is still more a matter of characterization." Likewise: the "two tragedies (Othello and Lear) . . . are the most painful that Shakespeare ever wrote, as they are among the most poignant representations of pain in all literature." To the discussion of Cleopatra may be added some penetrating remarks by Professor Karl Young in his review of Schücking, Die Charakterprobleme bei Shakespeare, 1919, in the Philol. Quarterly for July, 1922, pp. 233 f. In considering Troilus and Cressida, in the chapter entitled "Tragi-Comedies," the author was guided by valuable contributions recently made on the subject: incidentally, what is said of this play should set to rest the views of those theorists who find the drama an autobiographical document. His treatment of Cymbeline and All's Well, on the other hand, should be supplemented by Professor W. W. Lawrence's two convincing papers which have recently appeared in print (Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc., XXXV, pp. 391 ff.; ibid., XXXVII, pp. 418 ff.). Professor Alden apparently accepts Law's conclusion, namely, that The Tempest was produced at court in the autumn of 1611.

The final chapter, "Shakespeare," is an excellent summary. It is conceivable—the author, following Sir W. Raleigh and others, states it as a fact—that Shakespeare shared the renaissance dislike for pedants; if so, the poet for once must bow to Chaucer. reviewer does not believe, as does Alden who follows Bradley, that the dramatist disliked dogs. Contemptuous references to dogs are likewise a by-product of the Italian renaissance, and such allusions are common in the writings of Elizabethan dramatists. Even the revised version of the Bible is not exempt. Indeed, scornful allusions to dogs are found in the works of another gentle person, J. G. Whittier. As a matter of fact, as noted by Professor Manly (A Memorial Volume to S. and Harvey, University of Texas, 1916, p. 13), the poet's fondness for dogs is "strikingly displayed in Venus and Adonis, and in no less than seventeen plays." The chapter concludes with an excellent discussion of Shakespeare's limitations and greatness. Dante, "despite the greatness of both his soul and his art, is much farther from us than his distance in time alone would make necessary; and Goethe is already more distant than Shakespeare." Though the latter "lacked, on the one hand, a taste or a conscience for perfection of form, and on the

other, a deeply philosophic or spiritually interpretative mind, . . . [yet] we know that, notwithstanding these limitations, his works have proved to have larger elements of lasting vitality than any

others in human speech outside the Holy Scriptures."

To the valuable bibliography, intended for the general reader though useful to the specialist also, a few items may be added. No reference was made to Schmidt's Lexicon, the third edition of which revised and enlarged by Sarrazin (1902), is not sufficiently well-known. Schücking's work (op. cit.) is now accessible in a translation (Holt, 1922). Some readers might desire a definite reference to Dr. Henry Bradley's article on "Shakespeare's English" in S.'s England (op. cit.). Indeed, that entire study (included in Professor Alden's bibliography) is indispensable to any student of the dramatist. On the tragedies of S. see K. Young, "The Shakespeare Skeptics," in The N. American Review, March, 1922. A valuable discussion of fairies by F. Sidgwick is to be found in The Sources and Analogues of 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,' N. Y., 1908 (in the "S. Classics," ed. Gollancz). On S. the man see Manly (op. cit.); Bagehot's well-known essay; T. Brooke, "Shakespeare Apart" in the Yale Review (1921); A. C. Bradley, in Oxford Lectures on English Poetry, London, 1909. The article on "The Love Story in 'Troilus and Cressida'" by W. W. Lawrence in Shaksperian Studies, Columbia Univ. Press, 1916 may also be noted.

This review may appropriately close by re-emphasizing the value of the book from every point of view: completeness in plan, sound critical judgments, a keen and appreciative analysis, and a style that commands attention.

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Madame de La Fayette. Sa Vie et ses Oeuvres. Par H. Ashton. Cambridge University Press, 1922. 8vo., viii + 292 pages.

"Il ne donne aucun document à l'appui de ses dires—ce qui leur enlève toute valeur." Mr. A. thus dismisses Paul Lacroix's attempt to date the beginning of the friendship between Mme de La F. and La Rochefoucauld. No such damnation can be pronounced on Mr. A.'s work. The wealth of documents for the biography

may discourage the general reader: Fayettistes will admire the author's diligence and his good judgment in interpreting evidence. He is thoroughly familiar with the work of his predecessors; he has used their findings judiciously, always subjecting them to a strict control. He has made a notable contribution to our knowledge of the details of Mme de La F.'s life and he has reconstructed admirably her social and literary milieu.

Mr. A. argues from documents that Mme de La F. spent the greater part of her life before her marriage at Paris. He corrects some persistent errors in regard to her father, whose death he is able to place in Dec., 1649. He defends her mother against the accusation of indiscretion in the choice of her daughter's friends and renders very improbable the oft-repeated anecdote of an intrigue in which Retz figures. Study with Ménage may have aided the development of her "divine raison" the social atmosphere saved her from becoming a blue stocking. Mr. A. thinks he discovers a strain of preciosity in certain of her letters to Huet. (Cf. pp. 107, 215). I suggest that he has misunderstood her. She is using playfully a bit of the précieux language. Mr. A. has forgotten a letter of Bussy (cf. p. 35, n. 3): "On a vu une lettre d'elle qu'elle a donnée au public pour se moquer de ce qu'on appelle les mots à la mode et dont l'usage ne vaut rien. . . . " An examination of the two letters to Huet and the comparison with others of Mme de La Fayette will, I think, confirm my judgment. Traces of preciosity must be sought elsewhere in her work.

She married at 21, a late age for the time, and accompanied her husband to his provincial château. Soon after, her health deteriorated. She made frequent trips to Paris, where she definitely settled about 1660. From that time her husband sinks into comparative insignificance in her life, altho Mr. A. is able to cite a few references to him. Mr. A. proposes as a possible explanation of the separation the law-suits and the ill-health of Mme de La F., which necessitated her presence at the capital. He is at pains to show that she directed business affairs and took entire responsibility for the advancement of her sons. As to her relations with La Rochefoucauld, Mr. A. inclines to the belief that their acquaintance began about the time of her marriage (1655). He dates the first mention of him in her letters Sept., 1656. Mr. A. accepts Sainte-Beuve's opinion that their intimacy dates from

about 1665 and that their relations were platonic. "Nous croyons fermement que si elle a pu se l'attacher comme aucune autre femme n'avait pu le faire avant elle, c'est précisement parce qu'elle ne se donna pas." (p. 100).¹ Yet he remembers too well the famous mot, "Comment faites-vous, mon ami, pour être si sûr de ces choses-là?" to be dogmatic.

The modesty of Mr. A.'s preface, which, disavowing the title, declares that he has no pretension to treat la vie et les œuvres, is difficult to understand. Unless new documents are discovered, the biography can hardly be more complete; the works receive adequate treatment. There is a short analysis of each book, studied in itself and in its relations to the fiction of the time. Mr. A. shows that none of Mme de La F.'s novels marks an entirely new departure in literature. There were psychological nouvelles before La Princesse de Montpensier and psychological novels before La Princesse de Clèves. The latter however is distinguished as being "le premier où l'intérêt psychologique est plus important que les intrigues et les aventures." Mme de La F. did masterfully what others were attempting. Zaïde is a logical outgrowth of Mlle de Scudéry's novels. Mr. A. sees in it some echoes of the actual surroundings of the author. Segrais remarks that Alfonse's jealousy -a favorite motif with Mme de La F.-" est dépeinte sur le vrai, mais moins outrée qu'elle ne l'était en effet." The battle of Almaras in Zaïde resembles strikingly Bossuet's description of the battle of Rocroi. Possibly, suggests Mr. A., there is a common source for both.

Mr. A. renounces detailed study of the historical sources of *La Princesse de Clèves* by courtesy to two of his colleagues who were working on the subject when he completed his book in 1913.² He summarizes briefly: "Mémoires historiques, vieux romans, expériences personnelles." ³ He has changed his position in regard to

¹ D'Haussonville (pp. 183-184) suggests that a passage from Zaïde, of which he attributes the first form to La R., may be significant: "Seroit-il possible que le seul moyen de m'attacher fût de ne m'aimer pas? Ah! Zaïde, ne me mettrez-vous jamais en état de connoître que ce ne sont pas vos rigueurs qui m'attachent à vous?"

² See MM. Chamard et Rudler: "La documentation sur le XVIe siècle chez un romancier du XVIIe siècle." R. S. S., II, 92 ff., 289 ff., v, 1 ff.

³ Among the "vieux romans" he includes some of the Arthurian cycle. Miss E. D. Woodbridge calls my attention to an interesting episode in the

the significance and time of composition of La Comtesse de Tende. He now seems to accept the traditional view that the last tale was meant as an answer to critics of the aveu in La Princesse de Clèves. He also proposes with all reserves an ingenious hypothesis: "En écrivant La Comtesse de Tende . . . Mme de La F. n'a fait que livrer au public la véritable source de l'aveu de la Princesse de Clèves." Clarisse Strozzi married Honoré, comte de Sommerive et de Tende, in 1558. She died five years later. Nothing is now known of her married life to confirm or destroy the hypothesis that the nouvelle relates an actual occurrence.

Mr. A. quotes largely from the letters of Mme de La F. He finds that she easily holds second place among "les épistolaires du XVIIe siècle et on trouverait peut-être des gens d'un goût éclairé qui lui accorderaient la première." Many will doubtless think the last statement too sharp a reaction from the tradition that she wrote few letters. Mr. A. quotes two of her letters to Ménage which show that she intended to publish a part of her correspondence.

The book contains excellent bibliographies (through 1912) and an index of names.

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Le Grand Meaulnes. By Alain-Fournier, edited by Hélène Harvitt, Ph. D. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922. 326 pp. Le Grand Meaulnes. By Alain-Fournier, Part I, edited by J. G. Anderson, B. A. Manchester, England, Longmans, Green &

Co., 1920. 75 pp. \$1.10.

Alain-Fournier's novel has the advantage of serving a two-fold purpose, it is delightfully readable and may be used to advantage as a text-book in advanced classes of French. It is a novel of

Huth Merlin where Igraine warns her husband, the Duke of Tintagil, of the solicitations of Uter. (See Malory, Morte d'Arthur, ch. I). Mr. R. S. Loomis recalls Dorigene's confession to Arveragues in the Franklin's Tale, supposedly derived from a lost Breton lai.

⁴Cf. M. L. N., 1919, p. 139 and p. 171 of his book.

⁵ For other recent conjectures, see M. L. N., 1918, pp. 79 ff.; Mlle V. Poizat, La Véritable Princesse de Clèves, Paris, 1920, and cf. H. Bordeaux, "Les Amants d'Annecy," R. des D. M., 15 déc. 1920 and 1 jan. 1921.

adolescence, pervaded by a spirit of youthful unrest, or wistful, sensitive yearning, and because of this modern, Verlainian melancholy, it is better suited to older students. Another reason for recommending *Le Grand Meaulnes* for advanced classes is that the story moves too slowly to be appreciated in the elementary two and three page apportionments. The actual grip of the plot begins to tighten near the fiftieth page. It is a decidedly modern book, bringing with it the language, the fervor, and the spirit of the new French novel. It is to be hoped that *Le Grand Meaulnes* will go far towards introducing more of this excellent contemporary literature into our American editions.

Dr. Harvitt has presented a scholarly preparation of Alain-Fournier's work, in its entirety. She has secured a preface from the pen of Jacques Rivière, whose general capabilities as editor of the Nouvelle Revue Française are in this case supplemented by an intimate acquaintance with Le Grand Meaulnes, due to his relationship with the author. The notes seem adequate and instructive in spite of their briefness. The vocabulary is comprehensive and well prepared. Among its especially good features are the concise bits of information given in connection with authors, books, school systems, etc., and the extensive supply of synonyms to suit the different shades of meaning of the same word. The edition does not present the usual drill in the way of appended exercises and This does not seem a fault however. entrusted with classes advanced enough to read Le Grand Meaulnes will be well able to furnish his own drill, suited to the individual needs of his students; and the reader who takes the book as a supplementary assignment, or, better still, without any classroom obligation, will find evident enjoyment in a volume that does not smack of "home-work."

This excellent edition, however, might still be improved. Inasmuch as the notes are indicated by page and line number, it would be a decided advantage to number the lines in the text. For the further convenience of the reader, an asterisk might be used in the text to show the existence of a corresponding note. A note might well have been devoted to an explanation of the adverbial use of force (p. 11, line 9). The grammatical structure of the definition of cornette (p. 283) wants mending! These are points of not sufficient importance, however, to detract from the many admirable features of this carefully prepared text.

It seems unfortunate that the English edition, prepared by J. G. Anderson, presents but the first of the three parts of *Le Grand Meaulnes*, an episode, which, when read in its proper connection with the two subsequent parts, serves its greatest use as exposition to the story as a whole. The plot of the two sections not included in the edition is appended as a two-page synopsis, in English. The notes seem helpful. It would seem wiser to add a vocabulary, planned definitely to supply the meanings of the many new words (some difficult and technical) which the text presents, than to depend upon a general, and not always accessible, dictionary. The index is perplexing. One discovers that it is devoted to the names of authors, novel-types, etc., mentioned in the introduction, and to certain chosen words and constructions covered in the notes.

The most praiseworthy feature of this edition is its introduction. The first of the three sections into which it falls presents an excellent biographical sketch of Alain-Fournier. (Throughout, Mr. Anderson has written Alain-Fournier as two words, and not as one hyphenated name, as, we understand, the author wished his nom de plume to appear.) There is, secondly, a penetrating analysis of the new French spirit, with its accompanying radical changes in the world of letters. The third section furnishes a well presented account of the twentieth-century French novel, giving its antecedents, its characteristics, and classifying this all-encompassing literary manifestation into smaller groups of very definite traits, such as the historical novel, the regional, the social, etc. In each case the chief representatives of the individual movements are mentioned along with their most characteristic works. Only the last paragraph devotes itself to an analysis of Le Grand Meaulnes, establishing the connection between the introduction in general and the work at hand.

ROSE HEYLBUT WOLLSTEIN.

Columbia University.

CORRESPONDENCE

BEFORE RASK AND GRIMM

Here is a *datum* which will be of interest to the future writer of the history of comparative philology. It is quoted from an anonymous pamphleteer of the year 1724,—ninety-eight years, that is, before Grimm announced his law of consonantal variation.

"A COLLECTION OF SOME ENGLISH WORDS, WITH THE ORIGINALS FROM WHICH THEY ARE DERIVED.

"As one of the chief pleshures which the Curious find in Grammatical Learning, is the seeing the Agreement of our own Language with ancient Times and Things; I have here added a Collection of some of our more remarkable Derivations from the Greek, Latin, and French: And that the Reader may observe them with the more Judgment, and apply the Examples of them with more Ease to other Words which are not here put down, it may be first observed, That those Letters are oftenest put for one another, which are sounded by the same Motion of the Mouth, and therefore are known by the Names of Labials, Dentals, Palatines, or Guttural, according as they are form'd by the Lips, Teeth, Palate, or Throte.

"The Labials so chang'd are b, p, ph, f, v, and w. As; Pater father, βυρσα purse, Vine Wine, Vidua Widow, Gulielmus William.
"The Dentals are, d, t, th, g, gh, j. As, Duo two, Tres three,

Traho to draw, One Deere, acris eager.

"The Palatines are, n, kn, gn, c, ch, cl, s, sh, x; as, nosco γνοσκω to know, Nodus knot, Colonus Clown, stridulus shrill, Scapha Skiff,

Example Sample, Camera Chamber.

"The Guttural h is the same with the Greek Aspiration, and is rightly by us made a letter, and added both to the Beginning, Middle, and End of Words. As, Hall aula, hard arduus, thou tu, charm carmen, short curtus, Mother Mater; and to the last Syllable of the Third Person singular of all Verbs; as, Habet haveth or hath, jungit joineth, trahit draweth, mandat commandeth.

"As our Ancestors delighted in Monosyllables, so also do we, and reduce Words to them by Contractions, or leaving out either the Beginning, Middle, or End of Words, and sometimes we only keep the chief Consonants with other Vowels. As, Cantherus a Cann, Hospital Spital, Corona Crown, Debitum Debt, Clericus Clerk, subtaneous soon, Eleemosynas Almes, securus sure, rotundus round, Tegula a Tyle, Regula a Rule, &c.

"I have here added an Alphabetical Table of more Instances, because the remembring them, and observing others, will both help our Youth and Travelers in learning Latin and French, and help Strangers in an easy learning of ours. Great Numbers more might

be added to them."

The quotation occupies two pages (87-88) of the pamphlet.

Then follows "A Collection of English Words taken from other Languages," a list of words covering eight pages (89-96), with this concluding note:

"By the Knowledge of these the Eye of the Reader will be instructed and pleased as well as the Ear of the Hearer: And as many radical Letters although quiescent, yet are kept in Words, that they may teach the Eye this way, and lead him to the easier Understanding of other Languages, by seeing their Agreement with one another, I have here put down these together. They are but a few in Comparison of what will be found in the Dictionary when it shall come out; but being placed together, they will give the Eye a better Judgment of the Rules that they are made by, than as they lie dispersed and scattered. Finis."

The pamphlet has for its title:

The Many Advantages Of a Good Language To Any Nation: With An Examination of the present State of our own: As also, An Essay towards correcting some Things that are wrong in it. London: Printed for J. Knapton [and others]. MDCCXXIV.

The author does not place his name to his work at any place, and I have not yet succeeded in discovering his identity. He belongs to a group,—Swift, Welsted, Thomas ("Hesiod") Cooke, and others,—interested in "improving" and "fixing" the language. His whole pamphlet is highly interesting, and at another time I hope to write more fully upon his ideas.

His note on consonant equivalence, or shift, has a timely interest in that we have just observed—even if we have not celebrated—the centenary of Grimm's Law. The extent to which he does not perceive the importance of chronology and his caution in pointing out consonantal substitution without setting up a "law" of sound-shift are readily noticeable.

The University of Texas.

R. H. GRIFFITH.

AN ANOMALOUS ELIZABETHAN RELATIVE FORM

A curious mannerism which I have not observed elsewhere occurs repeatedly in Peter Whitehorne's translation (printed 1560) of The Arte of Warre by Machiavelli. It consists in the use of the form whom, instead of who, as the subject of a verb. I quote from the Tudor Translations edition the following illustrations from the first book of the treatise, adding the corresponding Italian text from the edition of 1550:

P. 33. 'as those, whom believe, that tymes, and not the naughtie maners, constraine men to live thus.' ('come quelli che credono che i tempi, & non i cattiui modi costringono gli huomini a viuere

cosi.')

'good he shall never bee judged, whom maketh an excersise thereof.' ('Perche buono non sará mai giudicato colui che

faccia vno essercitio . . . ')

'like unto those of the auncient Romaines, whom created their chivalry of their own subjectes.' ('simile a quelle de gli antichi, i quali creauano la caualleria di sudditi loro.')

'thei appointed sixe for every Legion, whom did the same office, whiche those doe now a daies, that we call Conestables.'

('ne proponeuano sei per ciascuna legione, iquali faceuano quello vffitio che fanno hoggi quelli che noi chiamiamo Conestabili.')

P. 57. 'some of those firste Emperours, and of those after, whom helde the Empire with reputation.' ('alcuni di quelli primi Imperadori, & di quelli poi iquali tennono l'Imperio con riputatione.')

This peculiarity recurs throughout the entire seven books of the

work; e. q.,

P. 67 (Book II). 'the Dutch man cannot strike thenemie with the Pike, whom is upon him, for the length of the staffe.' Tedesco non puo dare con la picca al nimico che gli é presso, per la lunghezza dell' hasta.')

D 213 (Book VII). 'to yong and lustie men, whom being

armed, must be destributed for the defence.' ('a' giouani e gag-

liardi; iquali armati si distribuiscano alla difesa.')

P. 221. (Book VII). 'wherefore many, whom have been be-

sieged.' ('onde che molti che sono stati assediati.'

It is evident that this anomalous whom occurs far too regularly to be accounted a simple misprint, and that it is not based upon any peculiarity of the Italian text. The correct who form occurs (so far as I have observed) about as often in the text of the translation as the irregular whom. Examples of the former in the first book are: 'how muche are to be feared those, who will not learn' ('quanto sia da temere quelli che non vogliono sapere'); 'for that they be men, who make thereof an arte' ('perche sono huomini che ne fanno arte'); 'Thei alledge the Romaines, who by meane of their owne powers, loste their libertie' ('Allegano i Romani, quali mediante queste arme proprie perderono la libertà.'); 'he resorteth by and by to his captain to make complaint, who for to maintain his reputacion, comforteth him to revengement' ('ricorre al suo capo di parte, ilquale per mantenersi la riputatione lo conforta alla vendetta'); 'whiche permutations howe profitable they be to those who have used theim' ('Lequali permute quanto sieno vtili a quelli che l'hanno vsate').

It should be remarked that Whitehorne does not much use either who or whom as the subject relative. I believe I have quoted all the examples of either in his first book. He is fonder of employing forms like that, which, the which, as. Perhaps it is worth adding that the subject whom does not appear at all (though who does) in Whitehorne's long dedicatory epistle to Queen Elizabeth or in

his translation of Machiavelli's Preface.

Perhaps some reader of Modern Language Notes may have observed elsewhere in Elizabethan literature instances of the abnormality here discussed. The only explanation which I am able to hazard is that some peculiarity of Whitehorne's manuscript led the printer to read 'who' as 'who' which he set up as 'whom'; but such a misapprehension would be expected to show itself in the printing of other words. TUCKER BROOKE.

Yale University.

SHAKESPEARE'S "BROOM-GROVES"

What Shakespeare doubtless had in mind, when using the more euphonious term of 'Broom,' was its near cousin or brother, the common Gorse, which differs little, except in prickles and a much hardier nature. It flourishes all over Warwickshire, and England, wherever it can get foothold, and soon spreads, unless checked. Nature abhors a vacuum, we know, and this is nature's way of adorning waste and wild places with pretty gold and green. It is known here indifferently as furze, gorse, whin, and prickly broom. Warwickshire rustics usually refer to it as 'fuzz' or 'goss.' Our poet himself once drops into this local dialect. In the same play, The Tempest, your contributor will find (1, 1, 70)

Long heath, brown furze, any thing

and again (IV, i, 180)

Through tooth'd briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns.

In the chalky counties of Berks, Dorset, and Wilts, great irregular patches of gorse flourish, usually from four to six feet high, forming excellent cover for rabbit colonies, and I have often laid down in the cool shade and acceptable odour of such 'groves' when out with a gun on hot days. There the turf seems to grow greener and finer also.

WILLIAM TAGGARD, Capt.

Stratford-on-Avon.

Anywhich, Anywhy, AND SIMILAR WORDS

The use of anywhere and anyhow suggests various words which might be in the language, but apparently are not—such as anywho, anywhich, or anywhy. For these non-existent words, we have to use circumlocutions, such as anybody who, anything which, or for any reason. It is common to find other locutions used in place of words which—while not, perhaps, current—are at least in the language. Careful speakers make a distinction between where and whither; but they are likely to say nowhere—as in the phrase "nowhere to go"—for both nowhere (correctly used) and nowhither. "Whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest, I will lodge" indicates the distinction between the two words which has, apparently, disappeared in the negative. Yet nowhither is found in writers as widely separated as Jeremy Taylor 1 and Thomas Carlyle.2

^{1&}quot; . . . and you can go no whither, but you tread upon a dead man's bones." Taylor: On Death.

^{2&}quot;.. so that he was obliged to march, and did march with a vengeance—nowhither." Carlyle: Characteristics.

Neither of these instances of the word is recorded in the NED., which

Neither of these instances of the word is recorded in the NED., which notes examples from 888 to 1890, including 2 Kings, v: 25: "And he said, Thy servant went no whither." A marginal note to this word remarks: "Heb. not hither or thither."

Anywhere suggests anywhen, which the NED. notes as "rare in literature," though "common in southern dialects." 3 Meredith employs the form somewhen in The Egoist: "Somewhen, before the dinner bell." 4 Somewhere else, a locution for the simpler otherwhere, has replaced the latter in ordinary speech-but the

word used to be common.5

Anyone who will probably not give way to the shorter anywho, nor is there much likelihood of such forms as anywhy or anywhich making their entrance into the language. Anywhat, now obsolete, may, however, be found in the NED. The colloquial nohow 6 and the unusual nowhither have a companion in the rare nowhen, which is cited in the NED, with illustrations from 1767 to 1884. Somewhere, somehow, and somewhat suggest somewhen; somewhy, which we have noted,7 is no more likely a form than nowhy (" for no reason"); but the latter does not seem to exist.8 "At any time" blinds us to the need of anywhen: anywhere is so much simpler than "in any place," that one may wonder that the parallel forms-equally simple and convenient-have not made their way in our hospitable tongue.

ROBERT WITHINGTON.

Smith College.

³ Carlyle is cited as the chief user of the word. Anywhat-now obsolete -is also in the NED., as are anywhence and anywhither: the former is cited from Overbury and the latter from Defoe, as well as the Authorized

Version (1 Kings, ii: 36).

'Chapter XIX. This word is noted by the NED. (which does not, by the way, record this passage) as "common in recent use." Examples from 1297 to 1876 are given, including its use in Water Babies (1863). Somewhence ("adv. rare") is also given, with examples from 1564 to 1905. Somewhile ("now rare") furnishes examples from 1154 to 1888; somewhither, from 1398 to 1905, and somewhy ("rare") is cited from Browning, Dramatis Personæ, [Mr. Sludge, "The Medium,"] ". . . whereby you

learn What some one was, somewhere, somewhen, somewhy?"

⁶The NED. notes various examples from Wyatt, Milton, Barrow, Hawthorne, Keats, etc. It does not include "The King has sent me otherwhere," Henry VIII, II, ii, 60; "But my thought was other where," Hood, The Dream of Eugene Aram (stanza xxxi). The word was "common in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rare or obsolete in the eighteenth, and revived in the nineteenth" (NED.). Otherwhence furnishes examples from 1575-85 to 1883; otherwhile ("now rare or dial.") from 1175 to 1875; otherwhat ("obs.") from 1225 to 1305; and othersome ("arch. dial.") from 1250 to 1875. Some other where (meaning "some other place") is cited from c. 1300 to 1889.

Cf. Alice Through the Looking-Glass, ch. IV.

⁷ See above, note 4.

*Nowhat (sb. nothing; obs. rare; adv. not at all, not in the least) was used by Fuller in 1651, and by Trollope (1867)—NED. Cf. ibid., for nowhen ("rare"); nowhence; nowhile ("obs. rare"); as well as nowhither.

THE TRAGEDY OF SIR JOHN VAN OLDEN BARNAVELT

In the introduction to my edition of The Tragedy of Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt, October 1922, I wrote that the manuscript B. M. Add. 18,653 was purchased from the Earl of Denbigh in 1851, but that nothing is known about its earlier history (chapter on edition and manuscript, page xii). Since then Dr. Carleton Brown drew my attention to the catalogue compiled by Edward Bernard: Catalogi librorum manuscriptorum Angliae et Hibernae in unum collecti, cum indice alphabetico. Oxoniae, E Theatro Sheldoniano. An. Dom. MDCXCVII.

Edward Bernard, Professor of astronomy at Oxford, was from 1692 engaged in supervising the preparation of this catalogue, and drew up a comprehensive index to its contents. He died in 1696, a year before the publication; the two volumes were printed in 1697.

The second volume contains a catalogue of the Denbigh manuscripts, page 35: Librorum manuscriptorum honoratissimi Domini Basilii Comitis Denbigh catalogus, continens codices & rotulos LXXXIX. In this catalogue we find number 45: A Tragedy made by Sir John Van Olden Barnavelt. Fol. There is no date, the number 45 corresponds to No. 45 written in different ink in the right-hand corner of the first folio of the manuscript. It is interesting to note that already before 1697 the manuscript was in the possession of the Denbigh family; Basil, who was born in 1668, became fourth Earl of Denbigh in 1685.

Bryn Mawr College.

W. FRIJLINCK.

A NOTE ON JOHN FLETCHER

In your April issue (XXXVIII, 252), Professor A. R. Benham in his "Notes on Plays" says:

"John Fletcher in Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed tried to write a companion piece to The Taming of the Shrew. . . . Perhaps Fletcher started his study of the latter play very early, for in The Wild Goose Chase . . . Mirabel exclaims 'Have at thee, Kate,' which is suggestive of a remark made by Petruchio to Katherine in her contest with the Widow."

That *The Woman's Prize* was a counterblast to Shakespeare's play has long been accepted. That the quoted expression is an echo of Shakespeare, especially in view of the relations of the plays, is quite probable. It should be listed then among Shakespeare Allusions, where I do not find it. But the implication that *The Wild Goose Chase* is an early play calls for substantiation. Our earliest record of the play is of a performance at court during the Christ-

¹I do not find it in the Shakspere Allusion Book nor in Munro's "More Shakspere Allusions," Modern Philology, XIII, 497 ff.

mas season 1621-2.2 So far as I can find, this record has always been interpreted as meaning that the play was first produced in or about 1621.3 If Professor Benham has other evidence or authority for his implied dating, it should be given.4

T. W. BALDWIN. Reed College.

SOME OLD WORDS

(1) Worm fence

An earlier example of worm fence than hitherto recorded is found in Charles Brocden Brown's Edgar Huntly, chap. xix, first paragraph: "The spots of cultivation, the well-pole, the worm fence, and the havrick were nowhere to be seen." This example is of 1801, as compared with the earliest hitherto reported, that of R. H. Thornton's American Glossary, from M. Berkbeck's Journey in America, 1817.

(2) To touch straw

The expression touch . . . straw of Astrophel and Stella IX, 14, seems not to have been explained, or the idiom recorded. Sidney is speaking of the power of Stella's eyes, and the figure is that of striking fire and its effect in tow, 'coarse part of flax,' for which in rime Sidney has used straw. For this passage, and perhaps some others, touch should have the meaning 'kindle, inflame,' derived from touch 'strike' through 'strike fire.' Such meaning is clearly implied in the compounds touch-box, touch-hole, touchpan, touch-paper, touch-powder, and in spite of Skeat's etymology, now corrected in the NED., touch-wood. The NED. recognizes the meaning 'kindle' only under touch in composition (touch-1. c), the compound touch-powder, and in the phrase touch off. Yet Cotgrave gives 'strike, hit' as one meaning of OF. toucher.

(3) Tom-ax

It is not clear how seriously Mr. Withington intended his explanation of tomax in the June (1922) number of the Notes. The word is scarcely a conscious telescoping of two others, as in the "portmanteau" variety of Lewis Carroll. It is rather a folketymology, or unconscious influence of meaning upon form, doubtless due to the earlier pronunciation of tomahawk as tomahack, of which tom'hack would be a natural abbreviation if not an original

² Adams, J. Q., The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, p. 49. ² Adams, J. Q., The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, p. 49.
³ See for instance, Dyce, Beaumont and Fletcher, VIII, 103; Fle sporaphical Chronicle, I, 216; Thorndike, Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespere, p. 93; Macaulay in Cambridge History of English Literature, VI, 157; Gayley, Representative English Comedies, III, lxxii.

⁴In an article on "The Chronology of the Beaumont and Fletcher Plays," which I hope soon to publish, I shall attempt to show that The Tamer Tamed is itself one of Fletcher's earliest plays.

form. Compare tomhog of Church's Philip's War (1716), as first quoted by Bartlett in Dict. of Americanisms (see also Dial. Notes IV, 385). The plural tom'hacks perhaps furnished an intervening step, and it may be noted that Capt. John Smith in his Description of Virginia has the entry "tomahacks, axes." The Century Dict., which first noticed the word tom-ax, calls it "an accom. [modated] form of tomahawk (formerly pronounced tomahack, etc.)," and the NED. in its later entry "a modified form of tomahawk.

The quotations in the last mentioned dictionaries show the word is older than Mr. Withington's example, Johnson having twice used it in *Idler* No. 40, Jan. 20, 1759. Yet these quotations require some further explanation of Johnson's use of so rare a word, for he does not even give tomahawk in his Dictionary. The Idler shows Johnson was inveighing against the exaggeration of advertisers—how true to form the breed still runs—and was quoting a London advertisement of the time. It reads:

A famous Mohawk Indian warrior, who took Dieskaw the French General prisoner, dressed in the same manner with the native Indians when they go to war, with his face and body painted, with his scalping-knife, tom-axe, and all other implements of war! a sight worthy the curiosity of every true Briton.

Johnson's comment upon this advertisement is in part:

An Indian, dressed as he goes to war, may bring company together; but if he carries the scalping-knife and tom-axe, there are many true Britons that will never be persuaded to see him but through a grate.

The Cent. Dict. uses this comment as its quotation, the NED. part of the original advertisement. Neither indicates that the word is probably an Americanism, which migrated to England

with the Indian who was being exhibited.

Other examples of tomax have recently been furnished me by Professor F. E. Farley of Wesleyan, two probably antedating that of Johnson, one a later use in America. In the first number of Miscellaneous Correspondence (London, January 1759), the frontispiece is a full-page picture of the Mohawk warrior to whom Johnson referred in his Idler, with the legend, "The Mohawk Warrior with his Tomax, Scalping-Knife &c." On the opposite page the picture is explained as follows:

¹ Dieskaw, of Johnson's curious spelling, was Baron Ludwig August Dieskau, a Prussian general in French service, who had come to America as commander-in-chief of the French forces when the Marquis de Vaudreuil succeeded Duquesne as Governor of New France in the spring of 1755. With somewhat more than 3500 French regulars, Canadians and Indians Dieskau was moving south from Crown Point on Lake Champlain when he was met by General William, afterwards Sir William, Johnson with 3000 New Englanders and 300 Indians under Hendrick a Mohawk chief. At first successful, Dieskau was later wounded and captured in the battle near Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George.

As there is lately arrived from America a Mohawk Indian Warrior, one of General Johnson's Guards who had distinguished himself at the Battle of Lake George, (where General Johnson beat the French) by his singular Valour in taking the French General, Monsieur Desseau, Prisoner; and as the above-named Indian Warrior (for the Gratification of the Curious) is expos'd to public View, dress'd in the same Manner with his native Indians when they go to War, with his Face and Body painted, his Scalpingknife, and Tomax, or Battle-axe, and all the other Implements that are used by the Indians in Battle, we imagine a Copper-plate Print of this extraordinary Person will be agreeable.²

Again the word was used by John Lathrop, a Harvard graduate and minor poet of New England, who printed in Calcutta where he then was (1802) The Speech of Canonicus; or an Indian Tradition: A Poem with explanatory notes. In the Boston reprint of the next year (p. 26), in describing the death of another Indian,

occur the lines:

A friendly tomax then, like lightning driven, Released Oswego's soul—it flew to love and heaven!

Western Reserve University.

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON.

BRIEF MENTION

The Ecclesiastical Sonnets of William Wordsworth. A Critical Edition. By Abbie Findlay Potts (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1922. x, 316 pp.). This is a doctoral dissertation prepared at Cornell University and accepted for publication in the Cornell Studies in English. It is "a centennial edition of the Ecclesiastical Sonnets," happily suggested by Professor Lane Cooper, to whom the book is fittingly dedicated and whose principal share in directing the composition of the book gives ample assurance of its scholarly dignity and permanent worth. This edition is, moreover, to be credited to the freedom of access to the "Wordsworth Collection" of Mrs. Henry A. St. John, of Ithaca. The founder of that valuable "Collection" gave indirectly to Cornell University peculiar privileges and advantages of a commanding position in Wordsworthiana, and all that, it will be acknowledged, has proved to be worthily bestowed.

In the opening words of the Preface this edition is justified in a thought that lies deep below the surface-reckoning of years. The paragraph will be read with interest in Dr. Potts's thoughtful reflections. "A century has gone by since the publication of the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*; but the problems of social life in 1922 are not unlike those on which Wordsworth meditated in 1822. With

¹ If the periodical above was printed at the close of the month, as such periodicals sometimes were in the eighteenth century, this example of tomax follows shortly after that of Johnson.

us, also, recovery from war, rash industrial and political adventure, hunger for novelty or variety in the management of schools and churches, have confused the national mind, and we still need this poet's interpretation of the spiritual history of his country. Nor may we without a careful review assert that we are a hundred years wiser. Therefore the time and the circumstances appear fitting for a critical edition of the series finally known as *Ecclesiastical Sonnets*."

Wordsworth is his own best interpreter. His prefaces and letters constitute a philosophic and esthetic commentary on his works and on the poetic art in general. It is a commentary of inestimable It sounds the depths of a true understanding of the purpose and art of what Wordsworth has bequeathed, and it also dilates and strengthens the student's mind with confidence in the principles governing the poetry that meets the valid requirements of the supreme art. In the 'General Discussion' of the purpose and character of this series of sonnets (pp. 1-27) Wordsworth's own statements are rightly brought together and discriminately interpreted by Dr. Potts. One here finds well-selected points of special interest jutting out from the general level of the discussion. Of these is "the distinction between religion in poetry and versified religion." A few sentences may be quoted from one of the poet's letters (cited by Dr. Potts, p. 17): "For my own part, I have been averse to frequent mention of the mysteries of Christian faith; not from a want of a due sense of their momentous nature, but on the contrary. . . . Besides general reasons for diffidence in treating subjects of Holy Writ, I have some special ones. I might err in points of faith, and I should not deem my mistakes less to be deprecated because they were expressed in metre." Then follows this significant statement: "Even Milton, in my humble judgment, has erred, and grievously; and what poet could hope to atone for his apprehensions in the way in which that mighty mind has done." It is dogma that does not fit into the universal formula of poetic truth. Pertaining to the same problem is Sir Philip Sidney's classification of 'divine subjects'; and if the poet had had in mind Spenser's Hymn of Heavenly Love, what would have been his comment?

The poet himself declared that to understand the Sonnets one must know the ecclesiastical history of England. As he had studied the historians for the outstanding facts, so the reader must traverse the same course, if he would put himself in the frame of mind to appreciate the poet's version of a long and varied story. Then should follow the finer discernment of the profound purpose of the series. It is a purpose higher than the promotion of any institutional formulas; it is rather (to adapt Reed's words) to be "an appeal to that common human-heartedness, which is the very element in which your poetry moves and has its being" (p. 56). For the cultivation of true catholicity of mind and sympathetic and tolerant judgment of human endeavor thru successive periods

of history the Ecclesiastical Sonnets should indeed be widely recog-

nized as guide and text-book of special effectiveness.

Abounding in details of consequence is the problem of the construction of the series as an epic whole. In exhibiting these details, extending from the publication of the *Sketches* (numbering 102 sonnets) in 1822 to the completion of the plan (embracing 132 sonnets) in 1845, and as here presented from the edition of 1850, Dr. Potts has shown the method of the trustworthy investigator. This "History of the Text" (pp. 44-58) is an instructive revelation of a succession of considerations that led to changes and additions. Then follow divisions of the Introduction on the "Narrative" and "Structure" of the series in which the critical and analytic ability of Dr. Potts is admirably displayed. The order of the narrative is accurately articulated, and the structural design and imagery, which "are both fluent and architectonic" (p. 62), have elicited a commentary that will definitely add attrac-

tiveness and profit to the study of the series.

Dr. Potts has had the good fortune to be enabled to add something significantly new to the available material for the study of the Sonnets. She has published (pp. 80-109) for the first time a manuscript-copy of the Sonnets (designated F). It is in the collection of Mrs. St. John; and Dr. Potts "believes it to be a copy by Mrs. Wordsworth of an early draft of Eccl. Son." Every detail relating to this Ms. must arouse interest. It "came to Mrs. St. John from the sale of the library of the Reverend W. L. Nichols" (1893), and is now carefully studied with reference to "Internal Evidence" for its authenticity (pp. 35-41). Dr. Potts's belief, stated above, is confirmed by characteristics of the Ms. which make it singularly important. To cite several points of evidence: (1) "The Ms. contains material not used in the text of 1822, but adjacent in the sources to the material that is used in the text of 1822." This fact reveals details of value in tracing the poet's method of composition and revision. Moreover (2) "The Ms. is in form nearer to the original conception of the holy river than is the text of 1822"; and (3) "From the Ms. are absent all the sonnets based on one of Wordsworth's most important sources, viz., The History of the Anglo-Saxons, by Sharon Turner" (pp. 35, 39, 42). As the examination proceeds the importance of the Ms. is heightened. It is important in studying "the refining of phrase and the excision of useless material," . . . "lessons taught on every page of the Ms." . . . "Ms. F permits a study of the development of structure, and hence justifies an estimate of Wordsworth's power to build. The formal beauty of the series is not an accident; it is an achievement the stages of which one may now follow in detail." The assumption of a sub-conscious store-house upon which the creative imagination makes its demands is capable of being accepted in a sense that is disproved by the experience of

the average man and by the clear evidence of strenuous and certainly conscious effort on the part of a poet in making such revisions and readjustments as Ms. F. proves to have been made.

The additional points of the "Importance of F" must be cited. Here are some 35 unpublished lines. The Ms. "indicates more clearly, because more fundamentally, than does the final version, that Wordsworth's main purpose was to warn against bigotry, rage, and pride"; and finally, the almost complete lack of reference "to the Church of the Middle Ages is the strongest evidence for one of Wordsworth's greatest imaginative feats." It was after the composition of his first draft that he perceived the incompleteness of the scope of his plan, which was forthwith extended to embrace the early periods, according to Bede and Turner. In connection with Ms. F., it is also to be noticed that the collection of Mrs. St.John supplies in manuscript a dozen of the sonnets in two letters from the poet to Henry Reed.

Dr. Potts has brought together and arranged for convenient use the "Variant Readings" (pp. 186-204) of all the printed 'editions' of the sonnets from 1822 to 1850, with, of course, references to the unique Ms. F. This collation is of inestimable value in the study

of the poet's art and workmanship.

Obviously the basic material for the study of the poet's selection of subject and method of composition must be the passages from the historians reflected in the individual sonnets. Dr. Potts has accordingly traced and verified these passages and reprinted them in her extensive "Notes" (pp. 205-304). Wordsworth's own notes contribute something in this way, but these have now been made complete, with the addition of notable critical comment. Thus, to take a specially simple example from this highly valuable commentary: Against sonnet 1, 19, the poet's own note, is followed by a verification from Bede (relating to Aidan) of the description of the "Servants of God"; then for "winter trees" (l. 4) a reference to Journals, and for "fruit divine" (l. 5) another to Bede. Vaud. and Julia (l. 44) has the "saintly shrine" to be compared with l. 8, and ll. 11-12 revert again to Bede, as does l. 13.

But the necessary limits of this notice must be observed. The value of this book is that of an indispensable aid in the study of Wordsworth. Dr. Potts has promoted that study by a book that will be enthusiastically welcomed.

J. W. B.

Die Auffassung der Liebe in der Literatur des 18. Jahrhunderts und in der deutschen Romantik von a. o. Prof. Dr. Paul Kluckhohn (Halle a. S., Verlag von Max Niemeyer, 1922. 640 pp.). Kluckhohns umfangreiches Werk ist infolge schwerer Kriegs- und noch schwierigerer Nachkriegsjahre verspätet im Druck erschienen, doch nicht zu spät, wie das Vorwort meint. Keiner seiner Vorgänger hat auch nur annähernd eine zeitlich und örtlich so tiefgründige

Untersuchung angestellt, eine solche schier atemraubende Masse des interessantesten und wertvollsten Materials zusammengebracht und alles von einem reifen kulturgeschichtlichen Standpunkt aus zusammengefasst und verarbeitet. Der Rahmen der literarhistorischen Arbeit ist gesprengt, und eine äusserst beachtenswerte und reizvolle kulturgeschichtliche Schrift ist das Ergebnis.

Um von dem reichen Inhalt des Buches einen Begriff zu geben, seien die einzelnen Kapitel kurz skizziert. Als Aufgabe bezeichnet der Verfasser die Fragestellung, "was das eigentlich Neue in den romantischen Ideen und ihrem Erlebnisinhalt gewesen ist." Dazu war nötig, die Anschauungen und die Lebenseinstellung der voraufgehenden Generationen und Kulturströmungen zu untersuchen, und das führte noch weiter in die Kulturgeschichte zurück und zugleich über Deutschland hinaus nach Frankreich und England. Damit gelangt man zu einer "geistigen Einheit Europas." "diese Probleme der Liebe sind eng verbunden mit dem Problem der Geschlechter und mit der Wertung der Frau. Es ist ein Wechselverhältnis. Die Einschätzung der Liebe wirkt auf die Einschätzung der Frau. Und je grösser die Werte sind, die man in der Frau sieht, desto höher denkt man von der Liebe zu ihr." Diese Geschichte der Liebesauffassung wird also auch einen gewissen Beitrag zur Geschichte der Frauenauffassung liefern.

In der Einleitung werden wir von der Liebe in der griechischen Philosophie, hauptsächlich Plato und den Neuplatonikern, in raschem Zug zum Mittelalter, zu Luther, Calvin bis zur Renaissance geführt, deren Liebestheorien dann in ihrer Wirkung, auf Frankreich besonders verfolgt werden. Die ersten beiden Kapitel gelten der Liebe in der Philosophie und Literatur der Aufklärung in Frankreich, der Liebesauffassung in England und der Empfindsamkeit und Leidenschaft in Frankreich. Die 7 folgenden Kapitel behandeln: Mystik und Aufklärung in Deutschland; Deutsche Empfindsamkeit und Sturm und Drang; Die Anschauungen des ausgehenden Jahrhunderts (mit Fr. Jacobi, Herder, Lessing, Jean Paul, Wilhelm von Humboldt, Schiller und Goethe . . .); Friedrich Schlegel und Schleiermacher; Novalis, Naturphilosophen und Baader; Tieck, Brentano, Werner, Hoffmann; Rückblick-Kleist, Arnim, Eichendorff, Hegel bis hin zum Jungen Deutschland. Ein Exkurs über Swedenborg ist angehängt.

Sowohl Forschern des Deutschen wie der vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte kann Kluckhohns Werk grosse Dienste leisten als interessantes und gründliches kulturgeschichtliches Nachschlagewerk, als eine Art Encyclopädie der Liebe in der Philosophie und Literatur des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts. Es steckt voller Anregungen, wie sehr man auch gelegentlich im Widerspruch zum Verfasser stehen möge. Nicht zuletzt ist auch der verständnisvolle, oft

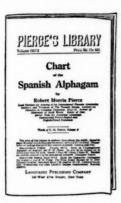
sehr lebendige Ton der Darstellung anzuerkennen.

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